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MAY, 1935

Number 8

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Editorial

HORACE CELEBRATIONS

One of the features of the meeting in St. Louis to which, as we write this editorial, we are looking forward with eager interest will be the Horace Luncheon. In this event the enthusiasm for the Bimillennium will have reached a climax. To that luncheon are invited not only those who are definitely planning to go on the pilgrimage and those who may possibly later decide to go but also all who are interested and would like to go.

And who is not interested? And who would not like to go and see *in propria persona* the places that Horace loved—Rome, where he studied and wrote and lived with many of the greatest men of his age; his *unica Sabina*, to which he fled for refuge from the din and smoke of the city; Tibur, with its “plunging Anio” and the villas of his friends, and Praeneste, to either of which he expressed a desire to retire for an old age of peace, “not unsolaced by the lyre”; Venusia and Vultur and the roaring Aufidus, the scenes of his childhood; all the sights and scenes of the Journey to Brundisium by the Appian Way; Athens, the glorious, his university town; Delphi, with its Castalian fountain, and Olympia, which he may well have visited himself; and Philippi, where “a Roman legion obeyed him as tribune” and where his “little shield was not over-bravely left behind.”

And then, too, there are places of no particular importance in themselves that have become goals of pilgrimage just because a poet has put them into his pictures. How many tourists would

think of climbing more than three thousand feet up the heights of Protomagno to visit Vallombrosa, had not Milton loved the place and written:

Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High over-arched embower . . .

So, too, as lovers of Horace leave Orvieto (*Urbs Vetus*) and approach Rome from the north, the cynosure of every eye is Horace's Soracte. One of the first questions asked by the visitor to our American School on the Janiculum, with all Rome lying at his feet, is, "Is Soracte in sight from here?" And it is. Even more fascinating are his cool Digentia and Bandusian Fountain, the gently flowing Liris, stormy Adriatic, and the Myrtoan and Icarian Seas, and rivers and mountains and valleys without number.

Horace's poems abound in allusions to places famed in history, in story, and in song. Many of these places it is difficult, some of them next to impossible, to visit save on such a cruise as those we are anticipating this coming summer.

The Horatian Pilgrimage through Italy begins at Milan, July 14, visits the home of Catullus at Sirmio, that of Vergil at Mantua, and proceeds by way of Florence, Rome, and the Appian Way to Brundisium, whence the cruise starts on July 28. The Horace Cruise¹ ends at Naples, August 20, or at Marseilles, August 22.

The classical tours and cruises will be conducted by trained and experienced leaders. Harry Huntington Powers, founder and president of the Bureau of University Travel, will be director of the Western Mediterranean Cruise and co-director with Louis E. Lord, president of the Archaeological Institute and past president of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, of the Horace Cruise. Lorado Taft, one of America's foremost and best loved sculptors, will accompany the first and part of the second cruise. Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, past president of the Archaeological Institute and of the American Classical League, will have

¹ In the December number of the *JOURNAL* (pp. 135 f.) we had occasion to call attention to the cruise ship and the cost of the cruise.

charge of the pilgrimage from Milan to Brindisi. W. L. Carr, president of the Classical League, will be with him. George H. Allen, who probably knows Caesar's Gaul better than any other living scholar, will conduct the Caesar Tour. Other leaders will be Roy C. Flickinger, general chairman of committees for the Bimillennium Horatianum, Rollin H. Tanner, secretary-treasurer of the Classical League, and the editor-in-chief of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, who is to assist on both the cruises.

AMERICAN SCHOOL EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

In the department of Current Events will be found a brief résumé of the first three weeks of the fifth campaign now in progress in the Agora of Athens. The purpose of this great undertaking on the part of the American School is to clear the classical Agora of the accumulations of many centuries. Our concession extends northward from the foot of the Areopagus to the Athens-Piraeus electric railroad and covers about sixteen acres, on which there are nearly five hundred houses and shops. These and the land must first be cleared by expropriation, buildings demolished, and a high fence built about each block or sector. Each year, at about this time, Leslie Shear, the director of operations, determines upon the five or six new sectors whose excavation will be undertaken in the next year's campaign. The business management is kept busy during the next nine months completing the appraisals of property, the court proceedings, payments to the owners, and finally the demolition of the buildings.

During the four campaigns that have preceded the one that is now going on, nearly one half of the market place has been uncovered down to the early Greek period of about the end of the sixth century, but it was only in last year's campaign that buildings were with certainty identified with those described by Pausanias and others. For instance, the remains of a circular building were positively identified as the Tholus; then followed the identification of the Temple of the Great Mother, the Bouleuterium, the Stoa of Zeus-Eleutherius, the Sanctuary of Apollo Patroüs, and finally, partly under the railroad tracks, the Altar of the Twelve Gods. With these definitely established centres the plan

of the Agora will steadily be developed as the excavation proceeds. It is estimated that five more campaigns after that of this year will be required to finish the work.

The excavation began on the west side in the area adjoining the "Theseum Hill" and has in a general way proceeded eastward, block by block, except that in one place the digging has extended clear through to the line of the Stoa of Attalus, which is our eastern boundary. The sectors now in process of excavation are identified on the plan presented in the department of Current Events.

Reports of the work as it proceeds have been appearing and will continue to appear in the CLASSICAL JOURNAL. They are based upon the Weekly Reports sent in by Dr. Shear for distribution to the Trustees and the members of the Managing Committee of the School.

HESPERIA

The results of each year's campaign are published in an extended report by Dr. Shear in the winter or spring of the following year in a special Agora number of *Hesperia*, the journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Several other numbers of this journal are devoted to separate studies of the finds, all preliminary to the final report, which will be published after the conclusion of the undertaking.

Besides the reports of the Agora excavation *Hesperia*, as the journal of the American School at Athens, is the vehicle for the publication of various interesting and important discoveries made elsewhere by other members of the corps of scholars connected with the School. This year, for example, there will be two numbers allocated to the general work of the School in Greece and four special numbers devoted to the Agora.

The CLASSICAL JOURNAL has no hesitation in recommending to its readers this journal of the American School, for we are all justly proud of it. The large number of pages each volume contains and the very small price of the subscription should make it peculiarly attractive to every student of classical antiquities. Upon request special Agora numbers will be sent free of charge to readers of this JOURNAL.

"GRECIZING" IN LUCILIAN SATIRE¹

By WILLIAM CHARLES KORFMACHER

St. Louis University

The growth of Roman satire as a literary form is coincident with the growth of the language itself into a flexible, sure, and expressive medium of literary composition. Lucilius, the first of the four great satirists, living at a time when Rome was not yet quite sure of her ultimate world destiny, reflects, as it were, some of that uncertainty in his own language and style. His life span (from about 180 to about 103 B.C.) has as a sort of central point the Third Punic War, which, terminating in 146 B.C., assured Rome of supremacy in the west. The Roman conqueror in that war was the younger Publius Cornelius Scipio; and he by reason of the circle of intellectuals that he associated with himself was of no small importance for the development of Roman letters and incidentally for the turn that was to be taken by the new genre of satire. For the poet Lucilius had the good fortune to become a member of the circle of Scipio and to enjoy the advantages of the critical acumen and discerning taste so abounding in that select group. The members of the circle, operating, so to say, as unofficial *arbitri elegantiarum* in matters of language and literature, exercised a potent influence upon the literary currents of their day as well as upon those of subsequent ages.

Now it is commonly understood that one of the objectives and ideals of the group was *latine loqui*, that is, to speak and to write a Latin correct and elegant and free from the intermixture of foreign elements. The Latin of the day was peculiarly open to the

¹ Read at the first annual meeting of the Missouri Academy of Science, Columbia, Missouri, December 6-8, 1934, before the combined Sections of Anthropology, History, and Philology.

invasion of Greek vocables. It was only some sixty years before the birth of Lucilius that formal Latin literature was begun, in 240 B.C., by the freedman Livius Andronicus, the event being marked by his adaptation of a Greek tragedy and a Greek comedy for the Roman stage. And Ennius, the real father of Latin letters, the pioneer who, like a Roman Chaucer, had first fixed the form of the Latin language, the poet who finally determined that the literature of Rome was to be inextricably intertwined with that of Greece, was still alive when Lucilius was a boy. It is a difficult thing for a new literature to be based upon an old without a consequent borrowing of words as well as thoughts from the old. The earlier English novel shows us how hard it was for British writers not to interlard their English with frequent words and phrases from the French. In the same way, the Latin of the second century before Christ was in constant danger of being overwhelmed by the alien idiom of Greece.

Grecizing then was prevalent, and Lucilius himself makes it plain to us that many a man in his day might fairly be called an "Hellenomaniac." Hence the Scipionic ideal represented by *latine loqui* embodied no intangible, no indefinite objective; rather it expressed the practical aim of keeping genuine and undiluted the idiom of Latium. Every writer—such was the aim of the Scipionic circle—was to be such a *puri sermonis amator*, such a "cherisher of Latin undiluted," as Julius Caesar later proclaimed the poet Terence to be.

Now the language of the Latin *satura*, the particular literary form in which Lucilius labored and which he molded for the use of later Roman writers, was by its very nature an easy capture for the invading hosts of Greek vocables. Lucilius found it an amorphous, uncertain thing, a mere medley or hodgepodge for the expression of almost anything. His great work was to determine it to a vehicle of castigation and rebuke, in which the writer would deal chattily and discursively with men and events, keeping always an eye upon the faults and foibles he encountered and a tongue ready to blame, in the hope of working a moral reform. Lucilian *satura* was fundamentally informal, easy, conversational in its manner. Hence it was in constant danger of falling into the pitfall

of mixed speech—of becoming an inelegant jumble of Latin and Greek.

How, as a matter of fact, did Lucilian *satura* succeed? Later criticism in ancient times would have us believe that Lucilius in his attempts to avoid the pitfall did not acquit himself very well. And if, in an effort to make first-hand judgments, we turn to the 1378 extant fragments (lines and partial lines), we are forced to admit the *fact* of the Lucilian custom of interlarding Latin with Greek words. The *reason* for such combination, however, is not so readily arrived at. Was the practice quite unregulated and widespread in the writings of Lucilius? Or is it possible to discover in his fragments any governing principle for the introduction of Greek words?

The question of Lucilian style and of Lucilius' use and avoidance of Grecisms is, of course, neither new nor previously untreated.² The present paper can aim at nothing more than a slight variation in the manner of approach and treatment and a confirmation of views already settled upon by others. Yet as the problem was already a vexatious one to the literary critics of the first century before Christ, it may not be amiss again to present certain points of evidence in a slightly new setting.

There is a whimsical passage in the *Satires* of Horace³ in which the poet represents a fictitious apologist for Lucilius, only to disprove what he has the apologist say:

*"At magnum fecit, quod verbis Graeca Latinis
miscuit." O seri studiorum l quine puletis
difficile et mirum, Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
contigit. "At sermo lingua concinnus utraque
suavior, ut Chio nota si commixta Falerni est."*

Thus audaciously does the imagined defender make a virtue out of what is to Horace a stylistic vice. Whether Lucilius himself ever formulated so fanciful a "justification" for his introduction of

² Cf. Schanz, *Gesch. der röm. Lit.*, I, 158, "Sprache und Stil," for some of the literature prior to 1927. A later study is had in May Elizabeth Keirn, *The Use of Greek Words in Satire*, University of Chicago Dissertation (1930).

³ *Serm.* I, x, 20-24.

Greek vocables—or whether he even deemed a “justification” for his usage needful—is of course questionable. The Horatian quotation serves therefore to confirm the *fact* of usage; it throws no practical suggestion before us as to the *reasons* for the usage.

In the study upon which this paper is based I have examined each one of the Greek words occurring in the fragments of Lucilius as these are listed in the edition of the poet by Marx, under his fourth index, *Vocabula Graeca Praeter Nomina Propria*; and I have endeavored to determine what “justification,” if any, was to be found for the Lucilian employment in each case of a Greek, rather than a Latin, vocable.

The total number of Greek words listed by Marx is 182. Setting this beside the total number of fragments (1378), we find that Lucilius averaged one Grecism to every seven and one half lines (disregarding of course the fact that the fragments are sometimes only partial lines). Now this proportion is true for the fragments only; we cannot say how correct or incorrect such a proportion of Grecisms to lines of text actually was for the original Lucilian *corpus* in its entirety. In fact, every commentator is quick to point out the danger of making hasty conclusions on the basis of the shattered remnants of the old satirist’s work; and we are reminded that many of the fragments owe their existence to some linguistic peculiarity that appealed to the grammarian responsible for the extant quotation. Thus it may well be that, despite Horace’s assault on the Grecizing proclivities of his predecessor, the proportion of Greek words in the extant fragments is considerably higher than was the case in the original entire *corpus*.

However, the objective of the present paper remains substantially unaffected, whatever the relationship between the proportion of Greek words in the extant fragments to that in the lost whole of Lucilius’ writings may have been. For it has been my purpose to “justify” as far as possible the Grecisms in the slight remaining bits of Lucilian satire and to point out the inaccuracy of the blanket indictment suggested by Horace’s lines.

A classification of the Greek words in the fragments yields the following results:

Culinary Words.....	30 or 16%
Rhetorical Words.....	30 or 16%
Derogatory Words.....	18 or 10%
Philosophical Words.....	13 or 7%
Medical Words.....	10 or 5%
"Attracted" Words.....	8 or 5%
Words without Latin Equivalent.....	61 or 34%
Unclassified.....	12 or 7%
<hr/>	
Totals.....	182 100%

Let us glance briefly at each of these classes. The *culinary words* have to do with food and drink, with kitchenware and tableware, and with the appurtenances of elegant dining. It is altogether reasonable to look for an almost necessarily large infiltration of Greek terms of this character into the Latin language of Lucilius' time. For the quickening influence that came to Italy from across the seas and more immediately from Magna Graecia in the south of the peninsula itself was in no sense limited to the spheres of literature and the arts and sciences. Luxury of table, lavish ostentation in house and furnishings, softer and easier modes of life and living were among the less lovable contributions from the Hellenic peoples. Just as the Norman conquest brought into Anglo-Saxon England luxuries and elegances of table along with a more enlightened outlook on literature and the arts, so Greece carried into Rome together with the choice tapestry of enlightenment the seamier fringe of civilization's softer vices.

The new ideas often found no ready Latin term; or, even though such a vocable might be at hand, the exact imported Greek term might easily win wider acceptance. Even today there is a certain satisfaction in labeling something new and exotic with its own proper exotic name. Lucilius has numerous Greek names of fish: the *amias* (fr. 6), or tunnyfish; the *acharne* (fr. 50) and *helops* (fr. 1276), both of them varieties of sea fish; the *cobius* (fr. 938), or gudgeon, apparently of little worth; the *peloris* (fr. 132), or shellfish; and others. Pastry is represented by *pemma* (fr. 1368). The vegetable kingdom presents, as an instance, *cyma* (fr. 545), a young sprout of cabbage. Utensils include the *arutaena* (fr. 17), a

ladle, and the *echinus* (fr. 1158),⁴ or copper table vessel. The very custom of reclining at table was a Greek innovation, unknown in the simpler days of early Rome; and, accordingly, the Greek word *triclinium* (fr. 1107) gained currency in Latin for dining room.

Rhetoric and grammar were among the more cultural contributions of Hellas to her western neighbor. If we are to accept the opinion of Suetonius,⁵ grammar had a very late beginning at Rome, owing its introduction to the Greek Crates of Mallus. This philosopher-diplomat came to Rome in 169 B.C. as the representative of King Attalus; and, finding his stay protracted because of an accident he had sustained, he proceeded to give lectures on grammar to all who cared to hear. Hence again it is not unreasonable to expect that the wealth of new ideas introduced by grammar and rhetoric would find a certain inadequacy in second-century Latin and that the pat, ready Greek words would be at hand to supply the deficiency.

Disyllabon (fr. 544), *hexameter* (fr. 229), *poema*,⁶ *poesis*,⁷ *tragicus* (fr. 567)⁸ are among the many examples disclosed in the fragments of Lucilius. In the field of drama even the rather Roman custom of an amateur comic after-play succeeding formal dramatic presentations is expressed by the Greek term *exodium* (fr. 1265). A bit of "occasional" writing, knocked together hastily like a raft, is expressed by the Greek *schedium* (fr. 1297).⁹ An incorrect connection of words is cursed as *cacosyntheton* (fr. 377),¹⁰ while that which is fair sounding rejoices in the epithet *euphonos* (fr. 1168).¹¹ That which has no art is *atechnos* (fr. 186),¹² and that which is puerile and boyish in style is said to be *miraciodes* (fr. 187). The idea of

⁴ *Echinus* occurs also (fr. 1201) as "sea urchin." It seems to be in both senses adopted.

⁵ *De Gram.* 2.

⁶ Lucilius uses the word as "short poem" or "canto": *pars est parva poema* (fr. 340); *epistula etiam quaevis non magna poema est* (fr. 341). The word occurs also in fragments 339, 344, 1013.

⁷ The word is used to signify a "poem as a whole": *illa poesis opus totum* (fr. 342); the word occurs also in fr. 346. ⁸ In the sense "tragic actor."

⁹ A similar idea is expressed in the *Silvae* of Statius.

¹⁰ Latin seems to be able to express the idea only by a circumlocution: *Quod male collocatum, id "cacosyntheton" vocant* (Quint. II, iii, 9).

¹¹ Quint. I, v, 4 has *bene sonans*.

¹² *Casu et sponde, durus, and inkompositus* suggest themselves as possible Latin substitutes.

concluding with a moral or speaking *l'envoi* is expressed by the Greek verb *epiphoneo* (fr. 908).

The ancient Italian was credited with a certain *acetum Italum*, a native tartness or sharpness, that gave him a ready and an effective tongue in the language of banter and repartee. Yet the language of abuse is ever eager to welcome new allies, and so it is not surprising that Lucilius in his satires, descending at times from moral castigation to mere invective, should reach out for Greek verbal missiles. A goodly portion of the *derogatory* words of our third classification are of this variety; others again are expressions of mere coarseness, which either lacked a definite Latin term or seemed to acquire a certain gloss of smug refinement in Greek guise. When Lucilius was minded to assail, he struck directly and forcefully. An effeminate person is branded as *maltha* (fr. 732); one abandoned to wantonness is *cinaedus* (fr. 1140) or even *moecho-cinaedus* (fr. 1058). An arrant rascal or rogue is *mastigia* (fr. 669), and a sordid usurer, one who "splits interest," is a *tocoglyphus* (fr. 497). A mere skeleton of a man, or again a "shadow" or a parasite, is called an "outline," *monogrammus* (fr. 59, 725). The epithet of *pararhenchos* (fr. 1223), "snorer," has assured one Cippius an undying though an unlovely immortality of fame.

Under the heading of *derogatory* words I have included some Grecisms that Lucilius intentionally employed as a means of pillorying Hellenomaniacs of his day—an attitude of the old satirist's which seems in itself to preclude any possibility of our deciding that he was himself given to an intemperate and exaggerated admiration and employment of things Greek. The best-known example of his retorting upon the Grecists Greekly is associated with the alien term of greeting, *chaere*, which, as he tells us, Scaevola employed at Athens instead of the Roman *salve* upon meeting the Hellenomaniac Albucius (fr. 93, 94):

"*Graecum te, Albuci, quam Romanum atque Sabinum,
municipem Ponti, Tritani, centurionum,
praeclarorum hominum ac primorum signiferumque,
maluisti dici. Graece ergo praetor Athenis,
id quod maluisti, te, cum ad me cecedis, saluto:
'Chaere,' inquam, 'Tite.' Lictores, turma omnis, chorusque:
'Chaere, Tite.' Hinc hostis mi Aloucius, hinc inimicus.*"

Like grammar and rhetoric, philosophy was a gift to Rome from the supple genius of Greece. The very word *philosophus* (fr. 754), originally Greek, became nationalized in Latin and often replaced the native *sapiens*. More specifically, Lucilius speaks of a *physicus* (fr. 635),¹³ using a Greek designation for one operating in that large department of ancient philosophy known as "physics." In a jesting philosophical passage, made to turn upon the conception of the four original elements, Lucilius speaks of *stoechia* (fr. 786, 788, 790), or basic substances, and mentions the Greek appellations for earth and air.¹⁴ The philosophy of Epicurus boldly invades the lines of Lucilius with its doctrines of the atom (*atomus*, fr. 753)¹⁵ and of the image or the idol (*eidolon*, fr. 753), the latter to account for the origin of sensation.

Medicine, too, as a profession, came to the Romans from Greece, not without opposition on the part of those *laudatores temporis acti* who saw in every innovation a threat to the stability and security of the state.¹⁶ Ills and cures tended to find expression in the native language of the healers. The *medical* words in Lucilius include *apepsia* (fr. 923), indigestion; *arthriticus* (fr. 331), gouty, strangely coupled with the native Latin *podagrosus*; *narce* (fr. 494), numbness or torpor; the adjective *herpesticus* (fr. 53), spreading or eating, applied to gangrene; and *cataplasma* (fr. 814), poultice, plaster, or cataplasm.

A few of the Greek words in Lucilius, eight in all, I have called "attracted" words—that is, terms that may have appeared as Greek out of a certain sympathy or harmony, so to say, with their Greek surroundings. For example, the poet in two instances passes over the ordinary Latin *uxor* or *coniunx*¹⁷ to express the idea of "wife" by the Greek *acoetis* and *alochos*. But *acoetis* (fr. 542) occurs in the neighborhood of the Greek proper names of Amphit-

¹³ Cicero gives us a Latin circumlocution, *N. D.* I, 83: *Physicum, id est speculatorem venatoremque naturae*. ¹⁴ Fr. 789, γῆ; *ibid.*, πνεῦμα.

¹⁵ The word was adopted. Lucretius and Cicero have as Latin equivalents forms like *corpora parva*, *corpora minuta*, *corpuscula*, *principia rerum*.

¹⁶ The elder Cato's stern warning to his son against Greek physicians will be recalled (*ap. Plin.*, *N. H.* xxix, vii, 14).

¹⁷ *Uxor* occurs four times elsewhere (fr. 283, 519, 679, 1350). *Coniunx* is not used.

ryo, Alcmena, and Helena; and *alochos* (fr. 25) is in the same verse as Leda and Ixion. Again, *koure eupatereia* (fr. 545) is in the same setting as *acoetis*; this may explain why this "daughter of a noble sire" is represented by a Greek, rather than a Latin, locution. The term *mychus* (fr. 1075), inmost part of a house, might have been rendered by some such Latin phrase as *penetralia domus*; but in the context at this point there is a discussion, in a medical way, on the cure and diet of certain ills, with an abundance of Greek terms—sufficient, if there is anything to this theory of "attraction," to entice Lucilius into another Grecism.

A word must suffice for the large group of vocables that I have designated *words without Latin equivalent*. The caption is commodious, and there may well be question (as in the case of the other headings also) of the appropriateness of classification in individual instances. Here will be found words that in Lucilius' day or later were adopted into Latin and passed as "naturalized": for example, *plaga* (fr. 768), blow; *propola* (fr. 198), huckster; *scorpios* (fr. 1022), scorpion; *tyrannus* (fr. 742), tyrant. At other times Lucilius uses Greek by way of exemplification or quotation. Thus his *'Apes 'Apes Graeci ut faciunt* (fr. 355) exemplifies a Greek shifting of quantity in successive occurrences of the same word; and his *Xiós τε δυνάστης* (fr. 1131) is probably a quotation from some Greek poet. Greek words may occur, too, to express some idea that has no ready equivalent in Latin. Thus, although there are Latin adjectives for "sheer, precipitous," there is none expressing the exact picturesqueness of the epithet in *aigilipes montes* (fr. 113), heights destitute even of mountain goats. The idea "having beautiful locks" may be suggested, if it true, by *comatus* or *crinitus*, yet it is almost correct to say that there is no real and simple Latin equivalent for *euplocamos* (fr. 991). Such specifically Greek words as the measure *medimnus* (fr. 500, 555) quite naturally appear in their original Greek form in Latin.

We may conclude then that Lucilius did not set out with the fixed purpose of filling the lines of his satires with Greek vocables in a spirit of reckless abandon. A cursory survey of his works is likely enough to leave that impression, especially as the Greek words oftentimes tend to appear in groups, as if with a sense of

comradeship in strange waters. Were the extant fragments even more limited in number and represented, say, merely by a few very "Greek" passages (such as *fr.* 784-790), we should probably conclude that Lucilius wrote half Latin and half Greek.

Fortunately we are possessed of sufficient matter to make better judgments, and we may agree with the strong contention of Fiske that Lucilius really opposed the excessive use of Greek words and attacked those who were guilty of the practice; Fiske assures us that

Even in the question of the use of Greek, a practice reprobated by Panaetius and Horace alike, it can be shown that Lucilius recognized some limits to a hybrid bilingualism, for in 15 he makes fun of those who use *clinopodas* and *lychnos* for *pedes lecti* and *lucernas*, in 88 he ridicules the Hellenomaniac Albucius, and in 1915 he apparently translates the Greek verb ὑποσκελίζω by *supplanto*, besides introducing into the Latin language the term *numerus* as a technical translation for μέτρον and *modus* for ῥυθμός in 1295. In short, his style was undoubtedly the informal mixture of Greek and Latin current in the Scipionic circle. It is in degree rather than in kind that it differs from the informal style of Cicero's letters.¹⁸

Such an "informal mixture of Greek and Latin" was, of course, in order in so informal and easy-going a genre as that of satire. Yet we have attempted to indicate that, even despite the "informality" of a literary type which allowed a vocabulary that would have disgraced the elegant Terence, Lucilius seems to have had a measure and a method in his Grecizing and that his style was not necessarily opposed to that purifying and elevating of the Latin idiom which was so characteristic an ideal of the Scipionic circle.

¹⁸ George Converse Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace* (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., No. 7): Madison (1920), p. 111.

COMMENTS ON VERGIL'S *AENEID*

By TENNEY FRANK
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(a) The first edition of the *Aeneid* ✓

Six times Servius mentions the editorial work of Plotius Tucca and Varius Rufus on the manuscript of Vergil's *Aeneid*, namely, on the introductory lines; on II, 567-586 (the Helena episode); IV, 436; V, 871; VI, 1-2; VII, 464. This first edition was extremely important, and yet the references of Servius to it have for a peculiar reason been generally treated as of dubious value. Servius frequently fell into error on historical matter, but when he cited authority he usually had that authority before him. The reason why commentators have felt so free to treat these six references lightly is, of course, that the Helena episode in the second book has till recently been denied authenticity, and they reasoned that, if Servius' remarks about Varius and Tucca were to be disbelieved in one instance, his suggestions about the others could also be doubted. The Kroll-Skutsch edition of Teuffel (1920, II, 24) accordingly ventured to say that "dubious examples of their editorial work were given by Servius," and Leo in his *Plautinische Forschungen*² (41 ff.), rejecting the Helena episode with vehemence, questioned the accuracy of Servius regarding the other passages as well. Heinze's discussion of the Helena episode in his *Epische Technik* and Norden's comment on it (at VI, 494) have done much to confirm such needless skepticism. Now that we have had the completely convincing defense of that passage by Fairclough (*Class. Phil.* I [1906], 221), Shipley (*Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* LVI [1925], 172), and others, it would seem that the old skepticism about Servius' other statements on Varius and Tucca might wane. But a habit of thought is difficult to dislodge. Commentators still

seem to struggle under the impression that serious doubts have been cast on the "first edition," and they do not recognize the fact that a heavy burden of proof now rests upon anyone who questions the opinion of the first edition on any passage.

On iv, 436 (*quam mihi cum dederis cumulata morte remittam*) Servius says that the first edition reads *dederis* not *dederit*. Now it makes considerable difference which reading one accepts. If we read *dederis* with Varius and Tucca, we assume that Dido is saying to Anna: "If you grant me this favor [of pleading with Aeneas to remain], my death will repay you." If we read *dederit*, the line is included in Dido's message to Aeneas, and one is forced to assume that Dido wishes to hold Aeneas by threatening to commit suicide unless he remains—an assumption that does violence to Vergil's usual delicacy and that seems quite impossible when we recall that in Book v (line 5, *causa latet*) Aeneas had had no such intimation when he set sail. I have no doubt that it was Vergil's scribe, and not the poet, who wrote *dederit* and that Varius was justified in making the change. But, quite apart from such considerations, I do not believe that this reading of the "first edition" would have been so frequently questioned by editors if they had not been misled by needless doubts about the famous Helena episode.

✓ Similarly (though this is of less importance) Servius says at v, 871 that Vergil ended the fifth book with two lines now found at the opening of Book vi (*obvertunt pelago proras*, etc.) and that the edition of Varius and Tucca removed them to the beginning of Book vi. We know now that the sixth book was in all probability written before the fifth. In beginning Book vi (before the fifth was complete) Vergil would of course begin the narrative at Cumae, and afterward, in completing Book v, he would continue that book up to the landing at Cumae. Hence the explanation of Servius is wholly plausible and would hardly have been questioned but for our superimposed doubts about the "first edition." In this case our faith in Servius ought to be confirmed by his citation (on vi, 1) from the careful edition of Probus.

✓ We also learn from Servius that Varius and Tucca emended the ending of line 464 of Book vii by reading *aquāi*. Of course, no one would believe that Vergil wrote an unmetrical line ending in *aquae*;

but we may well suppose that his copyist in a torpid moment may have done so. The statement of Servius here, too, is plausible.

Finally, Servius in his introduction says that the editors removed the four prefatory lines (*Ille ego qui*, etc.). The Oxford editor rightly says: *versus praeclarissimos iniuria poeta abjudicaverunt editores plerique*. These four lines correspond exactly to the last four lines of the fourth Georgic. They are the modest utterance of a poet who is still so unsure of his fame (at the inception of his great epic) that he thinks a signature necessary. After the epic was done and the fame of the achievement had gone abroad and after the new Palatine library was there to vouch for correct attributions, we may well suppose that Vergil himself would have omitted them had he lived to edit his work. Varius and Tucca now knew that these lines were *superflua* and, perhaps following a marginal suggestion of Vergil, deleted them.¹ Their authenticity has, of course, been adequately defended by FitzHugh (*Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* xxxiv [1903], p. xxxii), Phillimore (*Ille ego*, Oxford [1920]), and DeWitt (*Class. Phil.* xvi [1921], 338).

I should not with the Oxford editor place these lines in the text, nor on the other hand should I disregard them entirely as does the Teubner text. I should place them in the apparatus criticus, stating that they were written by Vergil for his early draft but were removed by the editors of the first edition out of respect for Vergil's great fame.

What I am trying to say is that, though editors here and there have accepted some of the statements of Servius concerning the work attributed by him to Varius and Tucca, they have generally felt free to doubt any or all of them simply because one statement so long seemed incorrect. With the vindication of the lines on

¹ Donatus' vita (42) garbles the evidence by quoting Nisus, a grammarian, as having said that he had heard from his elders that Varius had changed the order of the second and third books, besides deleting the four lines beginning *Ille ego qui*. Such a change in the order of books would be impossible, of course. But there is no reason for doubting Servius' statements derived from Varius, simply because Donatus chose to add a stupid rumor derived from Nisus. It should be noted that the editors who question these statements are usually the ones who question the authenticity of Vergil's epitaph (*Mantua me genuit*, etc.), but the first words of this epitaph have now been found on a second-century graffito at Rome (Della Corte, in *Bull. Comm.*, 1933, p. 115).

Helena we must admit that all the editorial revisions ascribed by Servius to Varius and Tucca rest on a much surer foundation and that all are presumptively correct unless definite errors in them can be found. I cannot find any.

There is no reason for assuming that Varius and Tucca discussed their revisions in a preface to their first edition, but Quintilian (x, iii, 8) quotes a statement of Varius to the effect that Vergil composed very slowly (*paucissimos die composuisse versus*), a statement that Aulus Gellius (xvii, x, 2) also quotes from a book *de ingenio moribusque* of Vergil, written "by his friends." In this pamphlet² (which seems to be the one mentioned by Quintilian) Varius, since he discussed Vergil's method of composing, doubtless mentioned the authorization given him by Augustus to publish the *Aeneid* and justified his few deletions and emendations. There is, therefore, every reason to believe that Servius drew from a reliable source in making the statements we have discussed above.

(b) Bentley's prose in Vergil

It would be interesting to consider how far a study of Vergil's technique influenced critical poetic theory in English literature through the last three centuries. Respect for Horace and Vergil went far in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries toward shaping the so-called classical ideals of literary art. Conversely, when these ideals had been shaped—somewhat too strictly—scholars like Bentley applied them in their emendations of the texts of Vergil and Horace. In doing so they often went so far as to eliminate suggestive and pregnant words and phrases in favor of more commonplace ones. Thus, in the case of Vergil at least, it is patent today that Bentley's suggestions have been permitted to destroy some of the poet's most vivid passages. His conjectures³ still have too large a place in English and American editions of Vergil.

² Cf. Rostagni, *Virgilio Minore* (1933), 6.

³ They may be found in *Rheinisches Museum* (1880), 312–313, collected from the margins of the British Museum copy of Commelini's *Virgilius*. Bentley did not publish them. Jebb's *Bentley* emphasizes sufficiently the prosaic nature of Bentley's emendations of Horace. Heinze's famous edition of Horace has preserved too many of Bentley's conjectures.

For example, in *Aeneid* III, 127 (*freta concila terris*), a very spirited image, the Oxford text still carries Bentley's prosaic *consita*. At III, 561 Bentley changed *rudentem proram*, a stirring appeal to all the senses, into *tridentem proram*, an insignificant picture; he changed *Italiae* to *Trinacriae* at III, 674 for fear that Vergil might seem to be exaggerating; he preferred *contendit* to the more animated *contorsit* of Acestes and his arrow at v, 520. At VI, 96 many of our texts still read the tame clause *quā* ("where") *tua te fortuna sinet*, partly on the authority of Bentley, partly on the mistaken report that Seneca read it so. What the Sibyl says to Aeneas is, "Go more boldly than (*quam*) your [past] fortune warrants." She refers to Aeneas' previous words (vs. 62: *hac Trojana tenus fortuna*). Bentley did not often miss the point of a passage from failing to remember the context as he did in this instance. At VIII, 65 the magnificently daring phrase *celsis caput urbibus* becomes lucid prose in Bentley: *Tuscis caput amnibus*.

These examples may suffice to illustrate Bentley's endeavor to make Vergil a "classical" poet conforming to the spirit of the early eighteenth century. He subdues the color, slackens the speed, thins out the richer overtones, effaces the imagery, deletes the sensitive poetry time and again in the interest of simple clarity. That procedure may be legitimate for the poetry of the silver age, but it disregards the rich sensitivity of Vergil. Bentley knew prose Latin usage as few scholars have, and his emendations deserve careful study, but it would on the whole have been better if he had not laid his exigent hand on the text of Vergil.

(c) A newly discovered archaism in Vergil

In 1926 Sabbadini (*Boll. Fil. Class.* [1926], 273) called attention to the interesting fact that Terentius Scaurus (Keil VII, 26) and Quintilian (VIII, iii, 25—emended, but certain) found what they call the "archaic" word *pelligerent* in Vergil and that the place for it must be *Aeneid* VI, 34, where our manuscripts read *perlegerent*. It will be admitted by every grammarian that the normal form of the word by Sulla's day must have been *pelligerent* if it followed the usual laws of assimilation and vowel change. A consciousness of the root of the word would, of course, account for the classical

form that appears in all our manuscripts. Sabbadini is, therefore, correct in substituting the archaic form in Vergil on the authority of those two citations. One wonders how long it will take editors and makers of dictionaries to discover the word. Here I wish only to support Sabbadini's reading by recording the fact that in the new edition of the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*, Vol. I, we may find the assimilated form in no. 1211 (*asta ac pellege*; several readers reported *pellige*; the date is about 125 B.C.) and the form *perlige* in no. 1837 (about 70 B.C.).

(d) A topographical item in the eighth book

Recently there has been no little discussion of how far Vergil made careful observations in order to provide his poem with a realistic setting and to reconstruct an accurate *mise en scène* for an epic of the heroic age in Italy. In the matter of topography Carcopino's *Ostia*, though justly criticized in some details, has proved suggestive, while Professor Saunders' book on *Primitive Italy* has successfully shown that Vergil labored with much care to learn what the civilization of an earlier day was like. One is never quite safe in assuming that Vergil has not a reasonably sound basis for his reconstructions of his scenic details. This very year, for instance, a scholar⁴ has disproved Dessau's theory that there never was a city called Laurentum, which Vergil represents as the city of Latinus.

Vergil's carefulness may be further illustrated by a small detail in *Aeneid* VIII, 190 ff. There he speaks explicitly of certain caverns at the west end of the Aventine. Not only does he represent them as a part of the Cacus legend but he says that Aeneas went over from the Ara Maxima to see them (line 304). There are deep caverns in the rock at that point, some of which are still visible behind the shops along the *Via della Marmorata*, though I have seen no reference to them in any edition of Vergil. The fact is that the west end of the Aventine does not consist of lithoid tufa, as does the rest of the hill, but of a very friable travertine, easily eroded, such as may be seen north of the Valle Giulia where the English School is situated, that is, only about four miles north of

⁴ Gerhard Bendz, in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, 47 ff.

the Aventine. Geologists⁵ know—though few scholars have paid any attention to this formation—that at these two places springs once poured out hot water saturated with sulphurous lime just as they still do at Bagni (Albula) on the road to Tivoli. The springs in both these places built up mounds of loose travertine, which were later eroded to some extent by the waters of the Tiber. At a later period the volcanic ash falling from the Alban volcanoes filled the area east of the travertine mound, thus forming the main part of the Aventine hill. I have no doubt that the Cacus legend grew up when there still was a living memory of the sulphurous emanations from these caverns and that Vergil had himself visited the caverns.

⁵ See Verri, *Carta Geologica di Roma*, 9. Travertine, being calcareous, is easily leached away by infiltrating water, whereas volcanic tufa is not.

ACADEME AND GALILEE

By STELLA LANGE

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The interesting paper by President Stob in the January number of the JOURNAL on "Stoicism and Christianity" brings up again a subject that has a perennial fascination for many minds. We are irresistibly tempted to

Let the sweet birds of the Lord
With earth's waters make accord;
Teach how the crucifix may be
Carven from the laurel tree,
Fruit of the Hesperides
Burnish take on Eden trees—

in other words, to harmonize the two things that have had most influence upon all serious thought in the western world—Christianity and Greek philosophy.

Like all fascinating subjects this one has its dangers and its pitfalls, and the cautious *distinguo* is indispensable in its treatment. It is easy to find parallels, actual or merely verbal, and equally easy to harp on differences, trivial or essential. Classical students are most frequently led astray by the former tendency, theologians by the latter. The matter becomes dangerous from a scholarly point of view only when a writer too hastily assumes from parallels, real or fancied, the dependence of one writer upon another, as is frequently done in the case of the later Old Testament books¹ or in the case of the relations of Seneca and St. Paul. Arguing from parallels is a delicate matter and without other evidence seldom proves conclusive; for it happens to be a fact that, given two writers of similar talent and temperament, in similar environment,

¹ So, e.g., the relation of the book of *Ecclesiastes* to Stoicism and Epicureanism as well as to earlier Greek literature has been hotly debated.

dealing with the same subject, they are likely to say very much the same things, especially if the subject be a religious or ethical commonplace or a matter of natural human feeling.

Now it is undeniably true that later Stoicism, Neoplatonism, and Neopythagoreanism developed in the same Hellenistic atmosphere that fostered the growth of Christianity and that all of them bear some impress of the age that brought them forth; yet this would not prevent them from differing widely in many fundamental matters. President Stob would seem to do well in emphasizing the fact that the evolution of Christianity was from Judaism rather than from Greek philosophy, although it could not escape the influence of the latter, especially in its later development. We see traces of this in the *Gospel of John*, and it is very evident in the writings of the early Christian Fathers. But the Synoptic Gospels are very un-Greek in tone and subject-matter, the book of *Revelation* is a natural outgrowth of the plentiful apocalyptic literature preserved in the Old Testament Apocrypha; and only those who are intimately familiar with the writings of both Plato and St. Paul can see the utter dissimilarity in method between the logical reasoning of the one and the psychological exhortation of the other.

After this prefatory *distinguo* to prevent misunderstanding, I should like to point out that the correspondence with Christianity on the three great topics of God, Man, and Providence, which President Stob denies to Stoicism, may be found in Plato.

Plato's conception of God would be a subject for a lengthy monograph. Here we can touch on only a few essential points. The God² of Plato is in essence far more akin to the God of Christianity than to the God of the Stoics. There are those who make Plato identify God with the Idea of Good. This, as Professor Shorey has pointed out,³ is not justified by the text of Plato. Like the Christians, Plato took his conception of God from the traditional religion of his people, only purifying it of all unworthy and immoral

² Or gods—Plato uses sometimes the singular, sometimes the plural, with little discrimination. He followed common usage in employing the plural, but his own conception was certainly monotheistic.

³ Plato, *Republic* (L.C.L.), II, Introd., p. xxv, and I, 183, note.

anthropomorphism. To him God is essentially good⁴ and the cause of all good things. From him comes no evil. Evil attends upon mortal nature and this present world, whence we must attempt to flee by becoming as like to God as we can.⁵ God, he maintains, is unchangeable.⁶ With Him "is no variableness, neither shadow of turning,"⁷ but He is the same yesterday and today and forever.⁸ He is true and cannot lie.⁹

Plato does not say anywhere in so many words that God is a spirit, but the whole tenor of his works affirms it and it is implicit in many passages. In the tenth book of the *Laws*, after he has proved to his own satisfaction the primacy of spirit and its superiority over matter,¹⁰ he says, "This soul [i.e., that which guides the sun and stars] we must consider (a) god," and again, "Since soul or souls appeared to be the cause of all these things . . . we shall affirm them to be gods. . . ."¹¹ Later,¹² it is true, he says that our soul and body are indestructible, though not eternal, like the gods of tradition (οἱ κατὰ νόμον ὄντες θεοί). But he is here evidently contrasting the traditional conception of God with his own, which he sets forth in that book and to which we shall return later. And in the *Phaedrus* he says as explicitly as his caution permits, "God, as an immortal being, possessed of both body and soul, conjoined forever, is something we fashion without ever having seen it or adequately conceived it. But let that be as God pleases."¹³

It is undoubtedly true that no Greek philosopher had quite so personal a conception of God as did the early Christians. The reason is plain. Early Hebrew religion, like early Greek religion, was anthropomorphic. In spite of the fact that the sacred scriptures of the Hebrews repeat that God is not as man, yet they endow him with many human attributes. Even the greater prophets who like Plato, sought to make religion ethical and spiritual, are compelled to "speak with the vulgar." It is extremely difficult for the average human mind to conceive of things that transcend

⁴ Cf. *Rep.* 379 E; *Tim.* 29 E.

⁵ Cf. *Rep.* 380-81.

⁶ Cf. *Hebr.* xiii, 8.

⁷ This, by the way, is one of Plato's favorite ideas and is often repeated: e.g., *Legg.* 870 B, 697 B, 966 D-E, 967 B-D, 959 B.

⁸ *Legg.* 899 A-B.

⁹ *Ibid.* 904 A-B.

¹⁰ Cf. *Theaet.* 176 A-B.

¹¹ *James* i, 17.

¹² Cf. *Rep.* 382; cf. *Titus* i, 2.

¹³ *Phaedr.* 246 C-D.

human experience. Witness the conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus.¹⁴ Taking away anthropomorphism frequently means taking away personality from the Deity. The early Christians escaped this dilemma because to them "God was in Christ." He was God in human form, "the express image of his person."¹⁵

But who shall say that great minds in all ages have not succeeded in establishing a deep personal relation with a being wholly spiritual? Such were the writers of the fortieth chapter of *Isaiah* and of the twenty-third Psalm; such was the Jesus of the Gospels; such were the nobler mystics from St. Francis to Madame Guyon; and such, it seems, was Plato, or the Platonic Socrates. In the *Phaedo* he speaks of the gods as our guardians (*ἐπιμελουμένους*) and masters and is certain that he will be in their care even after death.¹⁶ In the *Republic* he frequently speaks of the good man as dear to, or the friend of, God.¹⁷ If God is described as good, true, unchanging, just, holy, wise, and as the friend and protector of men who seek to pattern themselves according to his likeness, we shall probably be safe in saying that Plato attributes personality to God.

Let us see if Plato is less akin to Christianity in his opinion of the nature of man. In the *Phaedrus* Socrates says he endeavors to know himself, whether he is a beast more complex than Typhon or a gentler, simpler creature, partaking of the grace of God.¹⁸ Matthew Arnold is a little careless in his quotation of this passage. Plato had no illusions concerning the actual state of human nature. He knew that the many-headed beast is with difficulty kept under by the man, or rather by the divine element in man (*θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον*) and that if the lower nature is conquered it is *θεία μοίρα*.¹⁹ He could well understand St. Paul's, "For I delight in the law of God after the inward man. But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members." And in

¹⁴ John iii.

¹⁵ Hebr. i, 3.

¹⁶ *Phaedo* 62 B ff.

¹⁷ E.g., *Rep.* 352 B; 612 E; 621 C; cf. also *Gorg.* 507 E; *Legg.* 716 C-D.

¹⁸ *Phaedr.* 230 A.

¹⁹ *Rep.* 588 C ff.; 589 C-D; cf. 501 B and *Charm.* 155 D-E.

the *Phaedo* he heartily echoes Paul's, "Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"²⁰ The soul is weighed down by the body and rejoices when it is freed by death, and the life of the true philosopher will be a pious *meditatio mortis*. He has a desire to depart and to be with God, and he looks upon the body as a prison from which he would fain be released, finally by death, and meanwhile by philosophy which scorns earthly things, and his soul would not again be entangled with the yoke of bondage to pleasures and pains after philosophy has made it free.²¹

In both the *Republic* and the *Laws* Plato is pessimistic concerning human nature, though in the earlier work he dreams of an ideal city of God among men, whose citizens shall be virtuous not merely *θεία μοίρα* but by proper training. But this city finally takes refuge in heaven;²² and he tells us later that no human affairs are worthy of great concern.²³ In the *Laws* he repeats this sentiment, adding that God alone is worthy of all serious concern.²⁴ Man is at best a plaything of God, his puppet,²⁵ his possession.²⁶ The most that men can do is to worship and sing and play and dance and rejoice before God, being for the most part his puppets but possessing some little share of truth.²⁷ And when the interlocutor objects that the Athenian, who represents Plato, is belittling the human race, he replies, "Wonder not, but pardon me, for I was looking upon God when I said this. But, if you wish, let our race be not worthless but deserving of some concern."

The Stoics took the conception of Providence from Plato, who was the first Greek writer to deal with it; and this he did in a way that quite equals its treatment in the New Testament. If Paul says, "All things work together for good to them that love God," Plato says, "If a righteous man is in poverty or sickness or any other seeming ill, we must believe that this will issue in good for him whether he live or die."²⁸ If Peter says, "Who is he that will

²⁰ *Rom.* vii, 22-23: κατὰ τὸν ἔσω ἄνθρωπον. Cf. *Pl., Rep.* 539 A-B: ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος.

²¹ *Rom.* vii, 24; cf. *Pl., Phaedo* 79 ff.

²² *Pl., Rep.* 592.

²³ *Ibid.* 604 B-C.

²⁴ *Legg.* 803 B.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 644 D-E.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 902 B, 906 A; cf. the same idea under a different metaphor in *Rom.* ix, 20-21; *Is.* lxiv, 8; *Jer.* xviii, 2.

²⁷ Cf. *Eph.* v, 19: "Singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord."

²⁸ *Rom.* viii, 28; cf. *Pl., Rep.* 613 A.

harm you, if ye be followers of that which is good?" Plato says, "You shall suffer nothing dreadful if you are truly noble and good and practice virtue."²⁹ But the great sermon on Providence is the tenth book of the *Laws*. Here Plato definitely rejects the notion that the gods do not concern themselves with small matters.³⁰ The gods are good; they know all and see all, and they are in charge of the affairs of this world. No good physician or pilot or general or the like neglects the details of his craft. Such neglect would be the result of laziness or ignorance, which we must surely not attribute to the gods. God, who has charge of everything, has ordered all things for the safety and perfection of the whole. And we, too, however infinitesimal, have our part in it. We exist for the sake of the whole, not it for our sake. In other words, God has a plan for the world, which includes a plan for all beings in it, and he, the great draughts player, moves us into our proper places. But Plato does not accept an enervating determinism. He feels with Tennyson, "Our wills are ours to make them thine." The consequences of our actions are fixed, but the degree of good or evil that our souls admit depends on our own will,³¹ and as we grow better we are moved up, as we grow worse, down, whether in life or in death. And we shall never be neglected by God's justice though we dive into the depths of the earth or soar up to the heavens.³² If the prosperity of the wicked troubles us, it is because we do not see how they contribute to the whole. Such is Plato's vindication of the ways of Providence.

There is no uncertainty about his faith in the immortality of the soul. If Socrates in the *Apology* leaves the question open and in the *Menexenus*³³ voices the wistful *Si quicquam mutis gratum acceptumve sepulcris*, which even the Christian faith of Tennyson cannot suppress,³⁴ yet the whole of the *Phaedo*, the tenth book of the *Republic*, and numerous passages in the *Laws* permit no doubt of the matter.³⁵ Plato is not quite so dogmatic on the subject as St. Paul.³⁶ He does not make this belief the corner stone of his

²⁹ *I Pet.* iii, 13; cf. *Pl.*, *Gorg.* 527 C.

³⁰ *Legg.* 900 C ff.

³¹ *Ibid.* 904 D: διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς βούλησιν.

³² *Ibid.* 905 A.

³³ 248 B.

³⁴ Cf. *In Memoriam* xxxviii.

³⁵ Cf. e.g., *Legg.* 727 D; 828 D; and especially 959 B.

³⁶ *I Cor.* xv.

ethics and religion. To the somewhat unfortunate saying of Paul, "If in this life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all men most miserable,"³⁷ he opposes the statement that the most righteous man is the happiest, and the most evil is most unhappy, alike whether their character is known to all men or gods or is not known.³⁸ But that is simply a matter of difference in temperament and in method between the two.

Much that is extravagant has been written on the subject of Plato and Christianity. It will not do to read into either one all the doctrines of the other, as mistaken zeal has frequently attempted to do—even good Bishop Berkeley in the eighteenth century still crediting Plato with an anticipation of the doctrine of the Trinity—but nevertheless Faguet is pretty nearly right when he says,

*On peut presque dire que dans la pensée de l'humanité le platonisme et le christianisme ont été et sont destinés à rester inséparables.*³⁹

³⁷ I Cor. xv, 19.

³⁸ Pl., *Rep.* 580 C; cf. 612 B-C.

³⁹ Faguet, *Pour qu'on lise Platon*, 392.

REALISM IN LATIN TEACHING¹

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Latin teaching in our public high schools, it seems to me, is at the crossroads. Latin teachers must face certain facts and face them squarely. These facts cannot be wished away nor can they be solved by any policy of "watchful waiting" or by the pharisaical scorn of modern educational philosophy. Unless we are willing to see Latin go the way of Greek in our high schools, we must be decidedly realistic in our approach to this problem.

In the first place, we cannot dodge the fact that the students in our high schools are vastly greater in number than they were forty or even twenty years ago and very different in quality. The percentage of the total population of the United States in public high schools in 1890 was .32, in 1930 3.8. The percentage of the total number of persons fourteen to seventeen years of age in all high schools and academies in 1890 was 5.56, in 1930, 51.38.² In other words, in 1890 we were trying to give a secondary education to one twentieth of the boys and girls of high-school age, while in 1930 over half of those of high-school age were in the secondary schools. It does not take a particularly discerning observer to see that we have descended (or ascended) from an aristocratic to a democratic secondary school.

A second fact we must face is that the children who are coming into our high schools have not been brought up on the old-fash-

¹ Read at the Sixteenth Annual Conference of the Classical Teachers of Iowa at Iowa City, February 17, 1934, and at the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Classical League at Washington, D. C., July 3, 1934.

² *Statistical Abstract of the United States*: Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office (1933), 104.

ioned doctrine of compulsion in education. The modern youth is more independent in his attitude toward school work than his father and mother were. He is not so willing to be told what to do. "Contemporary educational philosophy, right or wrong, stresses the well-being of the pupil in contrast to the supremacy of subject-matter; it emphasizes positive results, not vague indefinable outcomes; and it insists upon democracy in education—the right of each child to pursue the subject for which his interests and abilities qualify him."³

Can Latin teachers meet this situation or will they blithely say: "Students do not know what is good for them. There will be no spoon-feeding in my classes. I refuse to lower my colors before a false educational philosophy." Such an attitude may be courageous but it is surely not realistic.

A third fact closely allied to the second is that the vast majority of students coming from the elementary schools to the high schools have an abysmal ignorance of formal English grammar. This may be deplorable, but it is a fact nevertheless, and Latin teachers must realize it and adapt their teaching to it. Mildred Dean hits the nail squarely on the head when she says:

An old-fashioned father who earnestly desired a real education for his daughter indignantly removed her from her third-term Latin class, when she asked him what "indicative mood" meant. "They have wasted a whole year's work for you if you do not know that by now," he said. He did not know that schools had changed since 1905, when he began to study Latin. He had entirely forgotten that he knew what indicative mood meant before he ever set foot in a Latin class and that he knew many other grammatical terms, because his grade-school teachers had patiently drilled him in using them.⁴

The fourth fact may not be pleasant to hear, but it must also be faced. In 1890, 33.6 per cent of public-high-school students were studying Latin, while in 1928 the percentage had dropped to 24.7. A more striking fact, however, is that the percentage of students taking Latin in 1910 was 49.5 while in 1928 it was 24.7—a loss of 50 per cent (slightly more) in less than twenty years. I

³ Walter Vincent Kaulfers, "Educational Guidance in the Foreign Languages," *Modern Language Forum* xvi (1931), 117-120.

⁴ Mildred Dean, "Old-Fashioned Schools and New-Fangled Fathers," *The Classical Weekly* xxvii (1933), 49-51.

have no figures later than 1928, but I have a feeling that the trend has not changed. Between 1922 and 1928 there was a loss of 10 per cent.⁵ Certain educators may say that this shows the trend in modern secondary education away from the study of Latin. I grant that it shows the trend, but I am not convinced that the trend is inevitable. I think that much of the trouble lies in the organization of and instruction in our Latin classes. Too often Latin instructors are attempting to teach their students (1935 students—not 1905 students) what they cannot or will not learn instead of what they can or will learn.

A fifth fact is that about 87 per cent of the students of Latin in our public high schools study it for two years or less. Furthermore, most of this 87 per cent are in the first two years of high school, children of fourteen to fifteen years of age.⁶ It seems to me that if we wish to be realists our chief interest as Latin teachers will be in the 87 per cent, not in the 13 per cent, of these boys and girls. Education today is for the masses. Neither the educators, who are in the saddle, nor the people, who pay the bills, will stand for a kind of instruction that is only for the preferred 13 per cent.

Granted that the high schools are no longer primarily college-preparatory institutions, that educational philosophy of today has no use for discipline for discipline's sake, that the students coming into the high school have little or no background of formal grammar, that the relative enrollment of Latin in the high school has decreased about 50 per cent in the past twenty years, that 87 per cent of the pupils who study Latin take it for two years or less, what have Latin teachers done to meet this situation? Let me set before you another body of facts, or what seem to me to be facts, in regard to the present status of Latin teaching in the high schools. In the first place, the report of the Classical Investigation has had considerable influence on the theory of Latin teaching but not so much on the practice. We have had a multitude of elementary texts that claim to stress the objective of read-

⁵ Frank M. Phillips, *Statistical Summary of Education*: Washington, United States Bureau of Education (1930), Bulletin No. 3.

⁶ C. A. Wheeler and Others, *Enrollment in the Foreign Languages in Secondary Schools and Colleges of the U. S.* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. iv): New York, Macmillan Co. (1928), 353.

ing Latin as Latin and the functional approach to the learning of forms and constructions. Many of the recent courses of study for cities and states incorporate many of the recommendations of the Classical Report in their suggestions to teachers. The content of the first two years has also been greatly influenced by the recommendation of the Classical Report to postpone the reading of classical Latin until the fourth semester. As a corollary to these facts, however, we must acknowledge that most or at least many teachers of Latin are teaching in much the same way as they were taught ten, twenty, thirty, and sometimes forty years ago. An examination of Miss Helen Eddy's report on *Instruction in Foreign Languages*, a part of the recent National Survey of Secondary Education, should prove to the unprejudiced reader that the above statement is true.⁷

We must also consider in our review of Latin in the high school the strong influence of the College Entrance Examination Board on Latin as taught, even in the first two years. While this Board no longer prescribes the amount and kind of reading to be done, the examinations set by the Board for the first two years consist mainly of translation of Latin into English, questions on the construction of certain Latin words, exercises that test the student's ability to reproduce certain Latin forms, and the writing of English into Latin. Miss Eddy observed the methods used by about eighty Latin teachers in all parts of the country, so that I think that it is fair to add to our lists of facts the following statement made by her:

It is evident that the prestige of the examinations of the College Entrance Examination Board is such as to set the standard for examinations the country over, and the typical course is, in practice, a college preparatory course.⁸

A fourth fact is that many teachers of Latin are firmly convinced that much drill on formal syntax and grammar and in the writing of English into Latin is necessary in order to gain a read-

⁷ Helen M. Eddy, *Instruction in Foreign Languages*: Washington, United States Bureau of Education (1932), Bulletin No. 17, National Survey of Secondary Education. Monograph No. 24.

⁸ Helen M. Eddy, *op. cit.*, 48.

ing knowledge of Latin. Therefore, a great deal of time is spent on these activities—activities which, I fear, leave most of the 87 per cent of first- and second-year students cold.

A fifth fact is that teachers attempting to use the functional method do not insist on a mastery of the forms that must be recognized, and the result is a grand guessing contest. Our tests of functional syntax and inflections are practically tests of ability to turn English into Latin rather than of turning Latin into English. That is, we are theoretically teaching for recognition knowledge but we test for the ability to reproduce the English in Latin. Our drill material is largely built to drill into the students the ability to reproduce, for example, "I said" in Latin rather than to drill them on the ability to recognize the meaning of *dixi* when they meet it in their reading. I challenge you to examine the published tests on Latin grammar and inflections and the drill exercises in most elementary texts to see if the above statement is not largely true.⁹ To be sure, our attempts to teach a functional knowledge of Latin will be a grand hodgepodge, when we drill and measure our students for a formal knowledge of Latin. The student is between the "devil and the deep blue sea." He is supposed to be doing one thing; he is being trained to do the opposite. The outcome, of course, is that he does neither.

I maintain further that while most teachers will agree that the gaining of a reading ability is the chief objective, it is a fact that this reading ability is not being gained to any appreciable extent by the rank and file of the 87 per cent. There are at least three reasons for this in my opinion. First, our so-called easy reading material is too hard; that is, the vocabulary burden is too heavy, and the students are not reading it but guessing at the meaning. Second, the students are spending too much time on other activities, such as writing Latin and learning unnecessary forms and syntax. Third, the students do not get enough practice in reading Latin, the words and forms of which they have already mastered.

⁹ Catherine M. Haage has constructed a series of objective tests on vocabulary, forms, speech feeling, and comprehension, which truly measure functional knowledge. They are obtainable from the author at St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

It seems clear to the writer, therefore, that it is the chief task of Latin teachers to determine upon an objective for their first- and second-year students that is within their power to attain and then to "scrap" everything that does not help toward this end. I feel that this objective should be the reading and enjoyment of Latin, with only so much attention paid to the so-called ultimate objectives as fits into the attainment of this main objective. If we are realists, our methods and our Latin reading material will be adapted to the students in our classes and not to those of twenty years ago. It does not seem to me to be a matter of choice. If Latin is to give something to the modern high-school boy, it must meet him on his own ground. Too many teachers of Latin treat their students as if the correct classification of a subjunctive or ablative should give them a thrill to be equaled by nothing less than a love affair or an automobile smash-up. Few and far between are the modern high-school students who care a hang whether the ablative case as such successfully survives the depression or takes its place among the limbo of forgotten memories. This may be deplorable, but it is true and we all know it. We have the facts. What shall we do with them? Shall we mournfully shake our scholarly heads and lament the passing of the good old days? Shall we assume an heroic attitude, scowl viciously at the pestiferous pedagogs, and go down to glorious defeat? Shall we bury Latin with full military honors, our heads bloody but unbowed? Such action may be good for our souls and for our scholarly integrity, but it will be fatal to Latin in the high schools. Let us rather be realistic and say to ourselves, "We have a condition that we must meet." I do not wish to oversimplify the problem, but I believe that if we provide reading material that the average student can read and enjoy, we can hold our place in the high-school curriculum. If, however, we give our students so-called easy Latin with a terrific vocabulary burden and overwhelm them with unnecessary forms and grammatical rules, the descent to Avernus will be easy and there will be no ascent.

In the remainder of this paper I shall outline certain definite things that in my judgment need to be done to make our main objective, the reading of Latin, possible of attainment by the boys

and girls who study Latin for two years or less. In the first place, the reading material to be set before the pupils should meet the following criteria as set down by West in his construction of English readers for Bengali children: (1) The pupils should at the earliest moment derive pleasure and a sense of power from their study. (2) Words should be learned by practice in actual reading situations, not memorized as vocabularies. (3) New words should appear at regular intervals, not in a mass. (4) The matter of the reading book should be suited to the age of the foreign pupil.¹⁰

Most of our recent first-year books contain considerable reading material, but the vocabulary introduced varies greatly in the different books. Several years ago I examined the words in fourteen widely used first-year books and found only 239 words common to all of the books. I have not examined our second-year books in this respect, but they probably show as wide or wider divergence in choice of vocabulary. It is much to be desired that our reading books show a rather uniform choice of vocabulary. To be sure, we have the College Entrance Examination Board Word List, the New York State List, and Lodge's *Vocabulary of High School Latin*, which suggest certain words to be learned each year. It does not seem, however, that our reading texts are following them very faithfully. As I have suggested elsewhere, we need a list compiled from a wider range of authors.¹¹

I understand that at the present time such a frequency list is being compiled from some 200,000 running words found in the *Oxford Book of Latin Verse*, Avery's *Latin Prose Literature*, and Beeson's *Primer of Mediaeval Latin*. Granted that we shall have a more authoritative list of words when this frequency count is completed, we shall still have the task of determining which words we can expect our two-year students to master and approximately when each of the words should be introduced. When this is done, our first- and second-year reading texts must be uniform or reasonably so in their choice of words and the time of their intro-

¹⁰ Michael West, *The Construction of Reading Material for Teaching a Foreign Language* (Dacca University Bulletin, No. 13): London, Oxford University Press (1927); *Language in Education*: New York, Longmans, Green and Company (1929).

¹¹ Mark E. Hutchinson, "Some Needed Research in the Teaching of Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIX (1934), 344-345.

duction. The meaning of unimportant words that may be needed to tell a particular story should be supplied to the students, and certain words whose meaning is obvious from their similarity to English words might be assumed as already known by the students.

Our task is just started, however, when we have our basic vocabulary. Here again, in my opinion, the modern language people are pointing the way. Their thesis is that it is better for a student to read a great deal of French and really enjoy and understand it rather than painfully to decipher a relatively small amount which, because of the proportion of new words, is too difficult for him. West in the construction of his English readers for Bengali children has blazed a trail which foreign-language teachers of children everywhere might well follow.¹² Miss Helen Eddy and her associates have adopted this plan in making readers of a low vocabulary density for French students.¹³ The trouble with Caesar as with other second-year Latin texts is, as Carr points out, his vocabulary burden. Grant, if you please, that his militaristic activities are good pabulum for the coming citizen, a vocabulary density of 1:10 is much too high for this 87 per cent whose interests we are trying to meet.

Three little books recently published by the University of Chicago Press seem to me to be attacking this vocabulary problem from the right angle. There is a basic text consisting mainly of reading material and two supplementary readers.¹⁴ The same vocabulary of 554 words is used in each book and the same new words are introduced in the same chapters in each book. The students are thus given much practice in meeting the same words in connected Latin reading. The words of high frequency in Lodge

¹² Cf. W. L. Carr, "Vocabulary Density in High School Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* xxix (1934), 323-334.

¹³ Latin teachers interested in this plan of constructing foreign language readers should consult the following books published by the University of Chicago Press: Helen Eddy, *Beginning French, Training for Reading* (1929), and the two accompanying readers, Grace Cochran, *Si Nous Lisions*, and Cochran and Eddy, *Pierrile*. A plateau reader to accompany this series is Meade, Cochran, and Eddy, *Sans Famille*.

¹⁴ Mima Maxey and Marjorie J. Fay, *A New Latin Primer*; Mima Maxey, *Cornelia*; Marjorie J. Fay, *Carolus et Maria*; all published in 1933 by the University of Chicago Press.

appear early and often in these books, while words with less frequency appear more rarely. The words are introduced gradually, and they are repeated many times from lesson to lesson. Finding Latin classics whose content is of interest to adolescent boys and girls and reducing their vocabulary density is a task that should be undertaken in earnest, if Latin can hope to compete with the modern languages.

When and if we solve the vocabulary problem, we must then lighten the burden of grammar that we have put on our boys and girls, who are the products of a grammarless generation. To be sure, we have no objective evidence that convincingly shows just how valuable the formal learning of forms and syntax is for gaining a reading ability. We do know, however, that many teachers are spending so much time on such activities that as a result their students have little time for reading. The Classical Investigation gave some evidence from the results of scores on objective tests that

no significant relation is discovered to exist between knowledge of rules and ability to translate, while a high correlation is found between the scores made by the same pupils in the tests on functional syntax and sentence translation.¹⁵

While it may be dangerous to argue from the results in another language, we have two experiments in French on a large scale that show that functional teaching of grammar correlates more highly with comprehension than does the formal teaching.¹⁶

Regardless of the lack of conclusive evidence on this problem I feel that for our present crop of students the hurdle of a great mass of formal grammar is a very real and almost insurmountable one. I have been much interested in an experiment that Paul Diederich of Ohio State University has made with his students in the University High School. He writes me that he made a count of word endings in 10,000 Latin words selected at random from classical prose and verse. He found only thirty-seven endings (disregarding tense signs) that occurred three times or more, and they accounted for 71 per cent of the total. To quote from his letter:

¹⁵ *The Classical Investigation*, Part I, General Report: Princeton, University Press (1924), 93.

¹⁶ Cf. Cheydleur's and Rice's studies cited in my article "Some Needed Research in the Teaching of Latin," *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIX (1934), 341-342.

Of the rest 21.5 per cent were indeclinable, 3.5 per cent consisted of twenty-four irregular pronoun forms that would have to be learned as vocabulary under any system, and 4 per cent were what I call the "joker" (that is, third declension nominatives). Furthermore, not all of the thirty-seven endings were equally important, and by subtracting all endings that accounted for less than 1 per cent of our words we had left only seventeen endings which together counted for 65 per cent of our words, only 6 per cent less than the complete list of thirty-seven endings. We now teach only these seventeen endings and keep the complete list for reference. Pupils can learn these seventeen endings to the point of absolute mastery in a week, and I honestly think it helps them more in reading than all the confused labyrinth of grammatical lore that we taught them imperfectly before.

Mr. Diederich's simplification of the inflectional load to be carried seems to me decidedly realistic. Probably most teachers would not wish to go so far, but after all why should we burden students with forms that they will probably never meet or meet only once or twice in their Latin reading?

If Latin teachers decide that they must lighten the grammatical load in some such way as Diederich has done, then they cannot expect their students to write Latin. Why should we ask this 87 per cent to write Latin? We should not require it, unless the writing of Latin helps them to read and understand Latin. Furthermore, in order to write Latin, considerable formal grammar must be mastered—all of which takes time otherwise spent on reading Latin. We must be very, very sure that the writing of Latin is valuable for our two-year students before we insist on their doing it.

Several years ago I collected evidence from ten teachers of Latin in several midwestern states on the amount of time their students were spending on preparation for "English into Latin" and "Latin into English" respectively.¹⁷ The median number of minutes per week spent on "English into Latin" was seventy-seven minutes for the 453 students who reported. The median for third-semester students was 100.5 minutes. I have no doubt that these figures are quite typical of what is done in the average high school. In

¹⁷ Mark E. Hutchinson, "Relative Time Given by High School Students to 'English into Latin' and 'Latin into English,'" *School and Society* xxxvii (March 11, 1933), 335-336.

some parts of the country the time spent on English into Latin might be greater. All of these teachers had as their chief aim the bringing about of a reading ability on the part of their students. I cannot help feeling that this time spent on writing Latin would be better spent by one- and two-year students in gaining further reading experience. I am also firmly convinced that much of the formal grammar in our elementary classes would be dispensed with, if it were not needed for writing Latin. Unfortunately our opinion as to the value or lack of value for comprehension of writing Latin is not based on much scientific evidence.

In a recent article W. L. Carr refers to an experiment carried on by one of his students in the summer of 1931 with sixty-four graduate students in Latin.¹⁸ The coefficient of correlation between scores on the comprehension of Latin and on the translation of English into Latin was .35, while that of correlation between comprehension and recognition of grammatical forms was .64. The Modern Language Investigation also found very low correlation between composition and reading ability.¹⁹ As in the case of formal grammar, although we lack conclusive evidence on the value of writing Latin, I am strongly of the opinion that the turning of English into Latin by our two-year students is a hurdle over which they cannot much longer be made to jump. For students preparing for college-entrance requirements a real course in writing Latin should be given, but for our 87 per cent the writing of Latin should be kept to a minimum.

To summarize, my recommendations for a realistic program in first- and second-year high-school Latin which I believe will bring results are the following: (1) Latin teachers should adopt as their sole objective the ability on the part of their students to read Latin. (2) The Latin reading material must be adapted to the age of the students in both subject-matter and difficulty. (3) Latin readers should be constructed with much lower vocabulary density than most of them have at present. (4) Supplementary Latin

¹⁸ W. L. Carr, "Reading Latin and Writing Latin," *The Classical Weekly* xxviii (1935), 132.

¹⁹ V. A. C. Henmon, *Achievement Tests in the Modern Foreign Languages* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. v): New York, Macmillan Co. (1929), 92-93.

readers should be constructed that will give the students much practice in reading Latin at different stages of vocabulary achievement. (5) The point of view of the teacher should be Latin into English, not English into Latin. (6) A basic vocabulary for two-year students should be agreed upon, and it should be followed uniformly in our reading books. (7) Some simplification of word endings to be learned should be sought. An absolute mastery of the endings agreed upon must be expected. (8) The College Entrance Examination Board should have little weight in determining the type of course to be given to first- and second-year students of Latin. Latin prose and formal grammar can be introduced later in the course for students who need them for college entrance. (9) The teacher of the first two years of Latin will measure his teaching by the ability of his students to read and enjoy Latin rather than by their ability to write Latin and recite paradigms.

The Latin club, the bulletin board, collateral reading in English, and the stressing of the relation of Latin to English are part of the armor of every wide-awake Latin teacher. All of these, however, must in my opinion play second fiddle to the effort to put before our students Latin of which the vocabulary burden is not too heavy and to give them only so much grammar as is necessary to understand the Latin. Otherwise we shall be compelled to move off the educational stage to make room for subjects of less intrinsic value, the teachers of which have seen the situation before them and have tried to meet it in as realistic a manner as possible. For Latin teachers to be anything less than realists in these days is suicide!

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent directly to Roy C. Flickinger, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia.]

A BIMILLENNIUM HORATIANUM CHECK LIST

In coöperation with our committee, Mr. Ernest Kletsch, Director of Union Catalogues at the Library of Congress, has prepared a check list of Horace books. This is made up of all entries under "Horace" in the Union Catalogue at Washington, in the printed catalogs of the British Museum and the Bibliothèque National, and in the Berlin *Zetteldrucke*.

An examination of this list yields some interesting facts. It shows three manuscripts of Horace, one at the University of Iowa, one at Harvard University, and one abroad. The next page shows twenty-four printed editions of Horace, undated, and the following page lists eight undated incunabula. Then begins the long chronological list, with one edition of the *Carmina* in 1465 and another in 1466, both printed at Mainz. Italy first appears in 1470 with the first printed editions of *Opera*, *Epistolae* and *Sermones Oratii*, and 1471 brings a second *Opera*, the first work of Horace to be printed at Rome. The popularity of Horace in the fifteenth century is indicated by the fact that every year from 1474 to 1486 brings at least one new printing, one of 1480 at Caen being the first edition in France. Only 1487, 1489, 1493, and 1496 fail to show new printings, and 1498 leads the list with sixteen different editions, of which six were published in Paris, five in Leipzig, and four in Venice. All told, there are no less than ninety-one incunabula editions of Horace.

The sixteenth century adds two hundred and twenty-seven new editions. The seventeenth century shows only one hundred and ninety-five, but the probabilities are that the printings were larger, so that more actual Horace volumes were absorbed by the public.

The eighteenth century is represented by more than four hundred editions, and the nineteenth by over twelve hundred. Every single year in the last century is represented by an average of twelve new printings. The years 1805 and 1808, with five new editions each, are the poorest.

These figures are revealing as to the popularity of Horace through the centuries, and we must remember that this is only a provisional list. Since it is made up largely from author catalogs, it includes very few works about Horace. The University of Cincinnati library has completed a check of its own holdings. Of the editions on the larger list we found copies of ninety-one in the Cincinnati library, and in addition we have made cards for one hundred and fifty-five new books to be added to the list. Of these forty-two are new editions, three are "added entries" for parts of books which include, with those of other authors, a substantial amount of Horace's writings. The remaining one hundred and ten are copies of cards upon which "Horace" appears as a subject entry, usually a criticism. Doubtless some of the more rare editions on the continent will not be found represented in American libraries. On the other hand many libraries here will make substantial additions to the list, as Cincinnati has already done.

The goal of our committee is to compile at the Library of Congress a list, as complete as possible, of all the Horace books in the libraries of the United States and Canada and to show as many locations of each as possible. This information will be valuable as a guide for interlibrary loaning and will also be of great importance to research workers. We are hoping to be able to find a means of publishing at least a part of this list.

And now for the details of our plan: Five photostatic copies of this list are being circulated through the larger university and public libraries. Each will enter its own Union Serial List symbol opposite every item of which it owns a copy. For editions and works about Horace not represented on the list the library is asked to send a copy of its catalog card to Mr. Kletsch at the Library of Congress. Every library that has not been approached by the committee is asked to check its own shelves and note especially any rare or unusual editions of Horace. Cards for these items, as

complete as the reporting library can afford, should be made and sent to Mr. Kletsch. We are especially anxious to receive information about manuscripts or unusual editions in the libraries of professors of classics or of private collectors. Only by the cordial and generous coöperation of everyone interested in classical study can this worth-while task be accomplished in a satisfying manner.

Any communications or suggestions in regard to the plan should be sent to the chairman of the committee. All cards for books should be sent to Mr. Kletsch.

EDWARD A. HENRY

Director of Libraries, University of Cincinnati

Chairman of Committee on Horace Activities in Libraries

CINCINNATI, OHIO

EUTROPIUS VII, XIX, 1, AND SUETONIUS,
VESPASIAN iv, 1

In that part of his *Breviarium* which covers the history of Rome from Caesar to Domitian Eutropius is often indebted to Suetonius' *Vitae*, and not only for facts but for words. An examination of the appropriate passages in Eutropius quoted by M. Ihm in his Teubner edition of Suetonius of 1907 shows the indebtedness clearly. There is a good illustration in *Breviarium* VII, xi, 2 and the *Vita Tiberii* xxxvii, 4. Suetonius states: Quosdam [reges] per blanditias atque promissa extractos ad se non remisit, ut Marobodum Germanum, Rhascuporim Thracem, Archelaum Capadocem, cuius etiam regnum in formam provinciae redegit. Eutropius' adaptation of this passage reads: Quosdam reges per blanditias ad se evocatos numquam remisit, in quibus Archelaum Capadocem, cuius etiam regnum in provinciae formam redegit. The essential changes, which are the omission of *atque promissa* and the names of two of the three kings, are made without doing any violence to the meaning of the Suetonian text.

In *Breviarium* VII, XIX, 1 and the *Vita Vespasiani* iv, 1 a similar copying from Suetonius is to be observed, but with a difference. Suetonius states: [Vespasianus] inde in Britanniam translatus tricies cum hoste confligit, duas validissimas gentes superque vi-

ginti oppida et insulam Vectem Britanniae proximam in dicionem redegit. . . . The copy by Eutropius reads: [Vespasianus] deinde in Britanniam missus tricies et bis cum hoste conflixerit, duas validissimas gentes, viginti oppida, insulam Vectam Britanniae proximam imperio Romano adiecerit. Here are found two changes of a more essential character: the addition of *et bis* to *tricies* and the omission of *superque* before *viginti oppida*. Editors of Suetonius have of course taken note of the *et bis* in Eutropius but have not given it a place in the text. Braithewaite¹ says: "It seems most improbable that this divergence is anything but a mistake in the MSS of one or the other author." As a loss in the text is more probable than an addition and as the manuscript evidence for Eutropius is excellent, possibly his reading should be given the preference, especially as there is support for it in the Greek translation of the *Breviarium* made by Paeanius, probably not many years after the time of Eutropius.

The omission of *superque* before *viginti oppida* raises a more interesting question. The reading of the translator, Paeanius, is here, too, in agreement with Eutropius. It is then probably not a matter of an accidental loss in the MSS of the *Breviarium*. Did Eutropius in epitomizing carelessly omit the expression although he thereby changes the meaning, or did he omit it because the omission did not alter essentially the meaning of the phrase? J. C. Rolfe, in his Loeb edition of Suetonius, translates: "He reduced to subjection two powerful nations, more than twenty towns," etc. Mooney² translates: "He subdued two of the strongest tribes, more than twenty towns," etc. With these translations of *superque* the *Index*³ to Suetonius is evidently in agreement, as *super* in this passage is listed among those used *cum numeris* and not as an adverb.

But Howard and Jackson list *super* as used three times by Suetonius with adverbial force (*Caesar* xxviii, 1; *Vespasian* xxiv; and *Domitian* iv, 4). In each instance the form used is *superque*,

¹ Cf. C. Suetoni Tranquilli *Divus Vespasianus*, Edited by A. W. Braithewaite: London, Oxford University Press (1927), 27.

² Cf. George William Mooney, *De Vita Caesarum, Libri VII-VIII*: London, Longmans Green and Co. (1930).

³ Cf. Albert Andrew Howard and Charles Newell Jackson, *Index Verborum Stilius Eius Proprietatum Nonnullarum*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1922), s.v.

just as in the passage in question, and in each the *que* is used to connect two successive expressions, not merely two words. The meaning in each case is "and besides" or "and in addition." Now if this meaning be applied to our passage, we may read: "He reduced to subjection two powerful nations and, in addition, twenty towns and the island of Vectis," etc.

To conclude: If Eutropius read the *superque* here with the meaning "and in addition," his omission of it in his text can be justified, for he did not alter essentially the meaning of the Suetonian phrase, and his opinion may be taken into account in translating the passage in Suetonius.

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QUINTUPLETS IN ANTIQUITY

The Dionne quintuplets would have created a sensation in antiquity just as they are creating one today. In *Noctes Atticae* x, 2, Aulus Gellius discusses multiple births as follows:

The philosopher Aristotle has related that a woman in Egypt gave birth to five children at one time, and he has said that this is the limit of multiple births in mankind and that it has never been heard that more were ever born at the same time, and, moreover, that this number is very infrequent. But also during the reign of the deified Augustus, those who wrote the history of his times say that a maid of Caesar Augustus in the Laurentian district gave birth to five children and that these lived just a few days; also that the mother of these children died not long after their birth, and at the command of Augustus a monument was erected to her on the Laurentian Way, and on this monument was inscribed the number of her children, about whom I have been telling.

The passage referred to in Aristotle is found in the *Historia Animalium* vii, 4, and reads as follows:

Πλείστα δὲ τίκεται πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν· ἤδη γὰρ ὥπται τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πλείωνων συμβεβηκός· μία δὲ τις ἐν τέτταρσι τόκοις ἔτεκεν εἴκοσιν· ἀνὰ πέντε γὰρ ἔτεκε, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ἐξετράφη.—"Five is the largest number of children borne, and this chance phenomenon has already been observed several times. Moreover, a certain woman brought forth twenty children in four accouchments, for she bore them five at a time, and the most of them grew up."

Aristotle, of course, was wrong as to the limit of multiple births in human beings, as medical history shows, but the two quotations above do show interesting ancient parallels to the sensation the Dionne sisters have been creating.

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SOCRATES AND BUGABOOS

There was a picturesque variety of bogie men (actually women) in classical literature: Lamia who ate little children (Ar., *Vesp.* 1177; Hor., *Ep.* II, iii, 340), Mormo (Ar., *Ach.* 582; *Av.* 1245; *Pax* 474; Plato, *Crito* 46 c; *Phaedo* 77 E; *Gorg.* 473 D), and the hobgoblin Empusa (Ar., *Ran.* 293; *Eccl.* 1056). In *Crito* 46 c Socrates is expressing his disdain of the common herd, who try to scare him with threats of penalties:

I will not yield to you, not even if more than it is now doing the power of the crowd tries its bogies on us as if we were children, thrusting at us chains and deaths and fines.

But the participle that follows *μορμολύττηται* is *ἐπιέμποισα*; and I suspect that, in keeping with the frequent punning in Greek literature, Socrates may have helped the satirical effect he desired by so playing on the participle in pronunciation that the audience heard stand out in it the *ἔμποισα* with which it ends.

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Book Reviews

[Review copies of classical books should be sent to the Editorial Office of the JOURNAL at Columbia, Mo. Such works will always be listed in the department of Recent Books, and those which seem most important to the readers of the JOURNAL will also be reviewed in this department. The editor-in-chief reserves the right of appointing reviewers.]

TENNEY FRANK, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. 1, Rome and Italy of the Republic: Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press (1933). Pp. xiv+431. \$3.

This is the first of four volumes of an economic survey of the ancient Roman world. The series will "present the sources (literary, epigraphical, papyrological) and give due attention to the economic meaning of the archaeological evidence," carrying the study to "the middle of the fourth century A.D." Tenney Frank has written the first part of the work. With him as general editor some nine scholars are engaged, the field being divided geographically. For example, R. G. Collingwood will study Roman Britain; A. C. Johnson, Egypt; J. A. O. Larsen, Greece. The plan to present the sources for various geographical divisions of the Roman world is surely the right one, much better than a possible chronological division. It has the advantage, too, of making the mere labor of collecting the source materials simpler, as so much in Greek and Roman inscriptions and in papyri and coins is published in collections made according to localities. It may be that in the completed work one will miss an economic picture of the Empire as a whole at any given time; but it must be remembered that this work is a presentation of original sources, not a history. For the general picture one may turn even now to Frank's *Economic History of Rome* or to Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* and in the future, perhaps, to books that may grow out of this great collection of source material now in process of appearing. In this first volume, of course, the editor

is in a position to give a more general survey, as Roman history of the Republic so largely centres in Rome, the city, and in Italy.

The sources are quoted in the original and are accompanied by translations, not made by the editor but accepted from standard works, such as the Loeb Classical Library series. Only the English version is given (pp. 318-320) of some rather long extracts from the *Lex Julia Municipalis*. In the case of brief quotations sometimes only the English translation is given, and sometimes only the Greek or Latin original (e.g., pp. 328-329).

The volume consists of an Introduction and five chapters, with numerous subdivisions arranged in consecutive chronological periods. Chapter iv, e.g., deals with the Gracchan Period, 150-80 B.C., under some ten divisions: Chronology, Land and Population, Public Finances, Economic Legislation, Semipublic Finances, Money and Banking, Commerce, Industry, Labor, Estates, Sources of Wealth. Bibliographies, select but large, are given for each chapter. The work is concluded by an index of some nine pages, covering both names and topics.

Roman society was primarily agrarian, industry and commerce being secondary, although with Rome's development these tended proportionately to increase in importance. Large individual incomes in earlier days came from successful farming. Investments in real estate often brought financial success. Conquest, booty, and subsequent looting of provinces brought fortunes to military and political leaders. Of such means of individual gain Frank thinks that "Julius Caesar provided the ugliest example in Roman history" and that toward the end of the Republic the larger fortunes came "not from business but from military returns, from dealing in confiscated goods, and from various abuses of official power." And not only the leaders but thousands of their subordinates or adherents and, in the army, officers and even common soldiers profited largely. The elder Pliny provides us with a peculiar yardstick for measuring individual wealth in a reference to Crassus, who "used to say that no man was rich who could not maintain a legion upon his yearly income." War could pay temporarily at least because the Mediterranean world in the time of the Republic was not yet economically and financially integrated.

It must not be thought, however, that the state was supported entirely by booty. There were variations in different periods. In the Catonian era "indemnities and booty paid a large part of the expenses of government," while in the Gracchan period "booty made up only about 10 per cent of the income, and provincial tithes, mines, and tariffs bore the burden of the expense." In the last years of the Republic the Romans in Italy did get off lightly, paying little, at times nothing, in the way of direct taxes for the general government—the provincials footed the bills. These latter, however, got a very substantial return from Rome, after conditions in any section were made stable, as Cicero shows in a letter to his brother Quintus (I, i, 34).

A certain amount of repetition of items of evidence is doubtless necessary. Some of these are a bit displeasing, as in the repetition on page 187 of information about the building of the Basilica Aemilia found on page 153, with the calculations of costs variously made in different monetary units.

A very nice job of printing has been done, and the texts appear to be given very correctly. I note that on page 329 the quotation from Asconius, which reads "*in singulos modius debatur*," should read *in singulos modios dabatur*.

Only one's own reading of this splendid first volume can give an adequate conception of the vast storehouse of information on Roman economics now in preparation.

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SAINT JEROME, *Select Letters*, With an English Translation by F. A. Wright (Loeb Classical Library): London, William Heinemann; Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1933). Pp. xvi+510. 10 s.; \$2.50.

There are extant today one hundred and fifty-four epistles from the hand of Jerome. Some are very brief, while others are several thousand lines in length. This volume contains only eighteen epistles, but they have been selected with great care and discernment, so that the reader of these few letters readily gains a clear insight into the character of Jerome and that of his correspondents.

The introduction consists of four parts: (a) Life of Jerome; (b) Jerome's Writings; (c) the Letters; (d) Text and Bibliography.

With few exceptions the Latin text is that of the great edition of Isidor Hilberg (Vienna, 3 vols., 1910-1918).

The translation strikes a fine balance between the spirit and the letter of the original. The charm and ease of Mr. Wright's language are reminiscent of eighteenth-century England, when letter writing as an art flourished and reached a height of literary excellence comparable to that of a minor classic.

Two appendices and an index of proper names conclude the volume.

Misprints are rare. I have noted, however, that on page 290, note 1, "confesses" is erroneously written for "confuses" and that on page 489 an arabic 4 is missing at the head of that footnote.

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Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. XI: New York, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue (1933). Pp. 132, with 20 plates.

This volume of the *Memoirs*, although smaller than any one in the preceding five years, compares favorably with its predecessors in variety, interest, and importance. Readers of the series have come to expect careful editing, attractive printing, and beautiful plates. In these particulars they will not be disappointed in the present volume.

Kenneth Scott is the author of "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B.C." (7-49). In general he seems successful in discovering the element of truth or falsehood in a charge or at least the circumstances that gave plausibility to the charge. In two instances, however, his conclusions are not convincing: in the one because pertinent evidence is neglected; in the other because the evidence he uses is in good part untrustworthy. Antony taunted Octavian with having earned his adoption by Caesar through the practice of unnatural vice. Professor Scott concludes that the charge contains an element of probability. But here was the place to consider

Suetonius' categorical denial of this charge, as refuted by the purity of Octavian's life at that very time and afterward.¹ It is not considered here or elsewhere, is not even noticed until page 21 and there only in connection with Suetonius' rejection of another charge. Again, relying upon Suetonius' general statement, which is followed by a recital of reproaches made by Antony,² our author says (p. 40) that charges of adultery against Octavian were very likely "not without considerable foundation." But he follows Suetonius³ in overproving and thus weakening the indictment by citing (p. 40, n. 1) a most improbable bit of scandal to the effect that Livia actively aided Octavian as a debaucher of maidens. Finally, he concedes that "most of the scandal should doubtless be disregarded," a rather inconsistent addendum to a note intended to support a charge "not without considerable foundation."

On the whole, the style of the article is pleasing, but awkwardly constructed sentences (e.g., on p. 29) occur. Is it economy, arbitrary choice, or accident that causes our author to decapitate or otherwise change the usual form of names of authors whose works he cites? This practice seems objectionable, especially in the case of well-known scholars, e.g., [T.] Rice Holmes (*passim*), H. [A.] Guerber (p. 26, n. 7). Other examples are: L. [ucile] Craven (p. 25, n. 1) and W. [illiam] [Emmet] Gwatkin, [Jr.](*ibid.*).

"Terra Sigillata in the Princeton Collection" (51-68; Plate 1) is a discussion by H. Comfort of seven sherds all apparently of the same fabric in form, diameter, and thickness. To determine the date of these bits of stamped pottery, tests are applied in matters of technique, motive, and style. One piece bears the signature of Cobnertus, who worked at Rheinzabern under Hadrian and later. Three pieces are attributed to workers at Levrux between A.D. 110 and the Antonine period; the remaining three are identified as the product of the Heiligenberg-Offemont-Rheinzabern school of potters, who were active about the middle of the first century.

Archaeologists in particular will be interested in "Antiquities of the Janiculum" (69-79; Plates 2 and 3) by A. W. Van Buren

¹ Aug. lxxi, 1.

² Aug. lxix, 1f.

³ Aug. lxxi, 1.

and G. P. Stevens. The article discusses more recently discovered remains of the *Aqua Traiana* and also two stones bearing inscriptions, which at some undetermined time were brought from a sepulchral area to the place of discovery. One of these, cut in the *scriptura monumental*is, conforms to the type of inscription used in the case of freedmen and slaves engaged in the arts and crafts; the other, a remnant of a tomb inscription, contains the names of the freedwomen of a certain Cosconia.

The article "The Sleep of Death" (81-117) is by Marbury B. Ogle, at the time the article was written Director of the School of Classical Studies at the Academy. Fascinating and intensely human in its appeal is the discussion of the conception of death as a sleep. Some of its conclusions are: The metaphorical conception is found, but not so frequently as is often assumed, in pre-Christian Greek and Latin literature; a preponderance of evidence indicates that this idea of death was not native with the Greeks but came to them after contact with peoples of other stocks; nor was it indigenous to the Romans, who obtained it through the Etruscans; many references to the sleep of death came from the Hebrew or at least from an oriental race, through whom it passed on to the early Fathers, both Greek and Latin.

Readers to whom long periodic sentence structure is anathema will probably think Professor Ogle uses it excessively; conspicuous examples occur on pages 89, 95 (twice), 107, and 112.

Henry D. Mirick contributes a paper on "The Large Baths at Hadrian's Villa" (119-126; Plates 4-12), which embodies the results of an excavation made in 1931-32. The purpose of the undertaking was to solve the plan of the building, sometimes called the "Men's Baths." While the establishment presents almost no outstanding features of interest, it is pronounced "a sound exponent of Roman tradition as interpreted by the Architect Emperor Hadrian."

The concluding article is by Walter Louis Reichardt, "The Vestibule Group at Hadrian's Villa" (127-132; Plates 13-20), thus designated from the belief that it served as a large vestibule, where visitors met before entering the adjacent baths or going on to the Canopus Valley to the west, where water pageants and

mock sea battles were held. The purpose of the study was an ideal restoration of the group, attempted "with the hope of recovering something of the spirit of luxuriousness and splendor that must have distinguished the villa."

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JOHN FLAGG GUMMERE, *The Neuter Plural in Vergil* (Language Dissertations, No. 17): Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America (1934). Pp. 55. \$1.

This dissertation is in fifteen chapters. In the first Dr. Gummere states the purpose of the study and defines his use of the expression "poetic plural." The second sets forth the method used in making his tabulations and explains the ten classes in which the nouns used by Vergil are grouped according to the quantity of their syllables. The third gives and discusses tables showing the relative frequency of case forms in prose as compared with their relative frequency in the first book of the *Aeneid*. Each of the ten following chapters discusses one of the ten classes of nouns mentioned above, with statistics to show the relative frequency of the case forms of that class and also the occurrences of the common words in the class. A "common word" is defined as one occurring ten or more times in the works of Vergil. Further, each common word in each class is discussed individually. The fourteenth chapter is the conclusion of the dissertation, and the bibliography is given in the fifteenth.

The purpose of the dissertation as stated in the introductory chapter is

to show, from the statistics of their occurrence and an enumeration of their uses: (a) That the greater metrical convenience of the nominative and accusative plural of neuters led to their use instead of the corresponding singulars in Latin dactylic verse. (b) That the high frequency of these plural forms in verse, as compared with their use in prose, depends directly upon their metrical convenience. (c) That metrical convenience led to an illogical use of such plural forms to denote even single objects. (d) That the so-called "poetic plurals" are merely these illogical plurals.

As Dr. Gummere states (p. 14), the decision as to which plurals are poetic and which are not poetic is a highly subjective one.

A question surely may be raised on his interpretation (p. 7) of *Aeneid* IV, 645:

interiora domus inrumpit limina . . .

He states that "Dido has erected the funeral pyre in the atrium of the house: Consequently *limina* must refer to a single threshold and is therefore a poetic plural." Whether the pyre is in the atrium or, as some scholars have thought, in the peristyle (cf. 494, *tecto interiore sub auras*; 504, *penetrati in sede sub auras*), Dido has seen the departure of the fleet from a watch tower (cf. 586, *e speculis*) and might cross more than one threshold in her descent and passage through the palace. The plural is metrically convenient and may be logical.

However interpretation of individual passages may vary, Dr. Gummere's contention is well supported by the evidence he presents. The dissertation is brief and compact and exceedingly well organized.

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Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Dorothy M. Bell, 216 Park Place, Brooklyn, New York. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving centre and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods and materials are requested. Anything intended for publication should be typed on stationery of regular size. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

A Game From the Cornfield—A Husking Bee

Explanation: To husk a word is to take letters from the back and front of a word.

1. Husk the word *Americanus* and get the tense sign of the future perfect of a regular verb.
2. Husk the word *Britannia* and get the genitive form of a second declension noun.
3. Husk the word *clamavimus* and get a perfect tense form of a first conjugation verb.
4. Husk the word *comparare* and get the present stem of a common verb.
5. Husk the word *concordia* and get the nominative form of a word for heart.
6. Husk the word *curationis* and get the nominative form of a word for plan.
7. Husk the word *egregius* and get the dative form of a common third declension noun.
8. Husk the word *vestis* and get a present indicative form of an easy verb.
9. Husk the word *hiemis* and get a perfect tense form of the verb for buy.
10. Husk the word *imperatus* and get a tense form of an irregular verb.

11. Husk the word *lacrimas* and get a case form of a third declension adjective.

12. Husk the word *manserunt* and get the nominative form of the word for goose.

A Method for Imitating Parchment

Ordinary white unruled paper may be given the appearance of parchment for use in Latin letters and scrolls by treating it as here suggested. Crumple it a little; then dip it in weak tea; press it dry carefully with a fairly hot iron; write on it with ink (preferably black india ink); shellac it on both sides and allow it to dry. The color may be deepened by increasing the strength of the tea. The pressing requires careful attention, as the wet paper scorches easily. When the shellac has dried, a worn and weathered effect may be obtained, if desired, by burning the edges with a lighted match.

More Horatian Plays

Cleasby, Harold L., *Saturnalia on the Sabine Farm* [a mystery play]: Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, The Author.¹

Woodall, Allen, *A Friend of Maecenas* [a three-act play in blank verse]: Seton Hall, South Orange, New Jersey, The Author. \$0.35.

A Few Rapid Drill Suggestions for the Beginning Teacher

Very often continuity of interest and application of effort on the part of pupils in material that requires incessant repetition depend to a considerable degree on the teacher's ability to vary the methods of drilling as much as possible. Yet to do this and at the same time to keep at a minimum the loss of time likely to accompany variations of procedure frequently taxes her ingenuity to the utmost. With this in mind there are here suggested a few simple devices that have grown out of the writer's experience and require in most cases very little preparation. They work best in the younger beginning classes.

A drill that has proved both popular and effective in gaining familiarity with verb and noun forms is one that for lack of any

¹ *The Owl* by Harold L. Cleasby, listed in this department in the March (1935) issue of the JOURNAL, is also obtainable only from the author.

other name has been called "Make It." It begins with any one given form, e.g., *ponet*, which is written on the board by the teacher. The teacher continues the steps orally as follows:

1. Make it passive—(*ponetur*).
2. Make it present—(*ponitur*).
3. Make it second person singular—(*poneris*).
4. Make it pluperfect—(*positus eras*).
5. Make it active—(*posueras*)

As will be observed, each step applies to the one immediately preceding it and not to the original one, except in the case of the first. Everything in each preceding step is carried over into the next one except the one change specified. The first time the drill is used with a group it should be worked through carefully with a model on the board, so that everyone understands what to do. The drill goes rapidly, keeps the pupils on their toes and in suspense until the finish, and challenges their mastery of the forms as well as their speed in forming them. Five steps produce the best results; more than that tend to cause confusion, if any of the pupils begin to get lost. The game may include all forms of verbs. Counting each round successfully completed as 1, score may be kept for a race over a period of days. Further variation may be secured by allowing different members of the class to work out rounds for the other pupils.

Another game much enjoyed is a relay race with word forms, vocabulary, short sentences, or partial sentences. The pupils in each row form a team. The teacher writes on the board as many forms as there are pupils in each team—the first form to be done by the first pupil in each row, the second by the second pupil, and so on. At a given signal the game begins. The first pupil in each row writes his form on a slip of paper as quickly as possible and passes the paper on to the pupil behind him. In this fashion the paper goes down the team to the last pupil, who writes his form. As soon as he has finished, he must carry the paper forward to the front of the room. The row that turns its paper in first and has the greatest number of forms correct wins. For the next round each pupil moves back a seat, while the last pupil moves to the

front seat. This varies the order and gives each a chance at each position.

When a review of forms has been assigned, each pupil may be asked to bring to class three forms or questions written on a slip of paper. These slips are given to the teacher, who shuffles them. Then each pupil draws one, writes his name on the slip, and answers the questions or writes in the forms. Next the slips are returned to the original writers, who correct them and hand them in. Since each pupil is responsible not only for the answers he has given but also for the correction of the answers to his own questions, he is doubly careful.

Interest in vocabulary may be maintained by occasional rebuses made from the day's list of words. The letters of two or three of the words may be scrambled into anagrams and written on the board for the pupils to solve as quickly as possible. Sentences containing English words related to the Latin words in the lesson may also be used. In this case the pupils must give the related Latin words and define the English words in terms of the meaning of the Latin word. In this type of drill the English words must be carefully chosen. The drill may also be carried farther into the formation of words by the addition of prefixes and suffixes.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; G. A. Harrer, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Eugene Tavenner, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Frederic S. Dunn, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., or to Fred L. Farley, College of the Pacific, Stockton, Calif.]

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the December issue, e.g., appears on November fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

With the Bimillennium Horatianum

Professor Flickinger of the University of Iowa, as General Chairman of the Horace Celebration, announces a \$1000 prize to be spent in travel in Italy and Greece in the summer of 1936. The series of contests for which this prize will be awarded will be in charge of a committee of which Dorothy M. Robathan of Wellesley College will be national chairman. The regulations will be announced in the near future.

A prize of \$100 also is announced for the best drama written in English dealing with Horace. This contest will be in charge of the Committee on Plays and Pageants, of which Lillian Lawler of Hunter College is chairman. The conditions of the contest are in process of formulation.

Mark E. Hutchinson of Cornell College now has thirty-four states enlisted in the Horace translation contest on the college level, and Jessie D. Newby of Oklahoma Central State Teachers College has enlisted thirty-three states in the translation contest for high-school students.

Miss Newby's pupils have prepared place cards suitable for Horace banquets, which may be obtained for two and a half cents each.

In Canada the Horace Celebration will be under the leadership of Norman W. DeWitt of Victoria College, University of Toronto. In Wyoming the state chairman for the Horace Celebration is Edythe M. Faivre of Cheyenne.

The work of the Committee on Coöperation with Non-Classical Organizations has been combined with that of the Committee on Lectures, of which Rollin H. Tanner of New York University is chairman. However, the active work of the committee is being done by its secretary, Helen W. Cole, 6141 Oxford Street, Philadelphia. Professors who are willing to lecture on Horace, or clubs, schools, or colleges desiring lectures on Horace should communicate with Mrs. Cole.

The American Academy of Arts and Letters will hold its annual meeting in its clubhouse in New York City on November 14, 1935. Agnes Repplier will deliver a lecture on *Horace*. This will be the Academy's sixteenth address on the Evangeline Wilbour Blashfield Foundation.

The Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore has arranged a Horace exhibition and a series of lectures dealing with Horace. The first in the series was given on February 20 by James P. Templeman, dealing with Horace, his life, his poetry, and his influence on English literature. This library plans also to issue a Horace reading list similar to that which was distributed in 1930 in connection with the Vergil Celebration. These activities are directed by Richard A. Hart, in charge of the Literature Department of the library.

The Lehigh University Club of Philadelphia and the Germantown Friends School held a joint celebration of the Bimillennium Horatianum in the auditorium of the Friends School on Monday evening, February 18. Horace W. Wright of Lehigh University delivered a lecture entitled "Horace, One Roman Who Never Grows Old," and two of his students presented the lovers' quarrel ode in costumes ancient and modern.

At Mount Holyoke College a prize was recently offered for an original poem on a Horatian theme. It was won by Jean Allyn Garis of the senior class, a major in English literature. The judges were Charles Bennett and David Martin of Amherst College.

J. Marouzeau of the Sorbonne and his pupil, M. Halberstadt, have prepared a *Bibliographie Horatienne*, which, it is hoped, will be published in the near future.

Upon the initiative of Edward Henry of the University of Cincinnati, national chairman of the Committee on Exhibits in Libraries, a check list has been prepared by Ernest Kletsch of the Union Catalogue Office in the Library of Congress. This is based upon every item under "Horace" in the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress, in the British Museum catalog of books published in 1890, in the Bibliothèque Nationale catalog of books by known authors, and in the Berlin *Zetteldrucke*. It lists every edition of Horace in the libraries of this country beginning with the 1100 A.D. manuscript at the University of Iowa and continuing to the last printed edition of the *Odes* dated 1934. It is planned to submit this list to the more important libraries of the country so that each may check on the list those editions in its own library. The complete list will run to about one hundred pages of manuscript and will be of invaluable assistance to every scholar interested in

Horatian studies. It is a splendid proof of the popularity that Horace has enjoyed from the sixteenth century until the present day.

A special display of Greek and Roman antiquities may be seen at the Classical Center, 1205 West Pico Street, Los Angeles. Although none of the antiquities deal specifically with Horace, the display is interesting evidence of what can be done to furnish background material for the celebration.

Josiah Bethea Game

It is with deep regret that we announce the passing, on March 4, of Josiah Bethea Game, since 1914 professor of classics and general literature at Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee.

Born at Mullins, South Carolina, August 14, 1869, he was graduated with the degree of Master of Arts from the University of South Carolina in 1895. He received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Yale University in 1909 and the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from Erskine College in 1922.

He was engaged in teaching, almost without interval, over a period of nearly forty years. During the year 1898-9 he was professor of Latin and Greek at Wesleyan College; 1902-5, principal of the Academy of Central College at Fayette, Missouri; 1907-11, professor of Latin and Greek at Missouri State Normal School, Cape Girardeau; 1911-4, professor of Latin (1912-4, dean) at Alabama State Normal College, Florence.

He is well known for his publications, both in book and in periodical form, in the fields of general literature and of the teaching of Latin.

A loyal member of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, he served a term on the Executive Committee of the Association and a year as president of the southern section and held the office of vice president for Florida without interruption from 1916 until his resignation forced by ill health last November, over a period of nearly twenty years, rendering the most faithful service to the Association at all times.

The Classical Center, Los Angeles

In order to swing into step with the changing curriculum of the secondary schools, the Classical Center, Los Angeles, has developed a new service. Talks organized around objects from the Classical Center collection are given before classes in the schools. In each case the subject-matter of the talks is adapted to the work in the classroom. Topics cover a number of different phases of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman civilization. The lectures are illustrated with antiquities and models or with slides and include the answering of pupils' questions. Usually the objects are passed around the room so that each child has an intimate view of the object or actually touches it.

The formation of classes in which two or more subjects of the curriculum are correlated is increasing the demand for these illustrated talks. During the past semester 6466 pupils were reached in this way. For a Greek vase or a Roman coin, properly decorated, may easily serve as a common meeting



TO BE EXCAVATED IN 1935—N, Ξ, O, Π,* AND THE REST OF Γ

* The Γ on the right side of the plan should be a Π.

ground for Art, English, Social Studies, Latin—and other subjects, if desired.

There are more than twenty-five topics from which the teacher may choose. Some of the most popular are: The Ancient in Modern Italy, Heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, The Greek House, The Olympic Games, Last Days at Pompeii, Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, Roman Trades and Money.

The talks are given by Mrs. Jane Infield and Miss Helen Caldwell, who together constitute the personnel of the Classical Center.

The Classical Center is a part of the Visual Education Section in the Los Angeles city school system. It is a bureau of information and exchange; it endeavors to assist both teachers and pupils in the field of ancient civilizations. It contains a permanent exhibit of antiquities, reproductions, and models; a classical library; a display of wall charts; files of pictures and other teaching helps; and school exhibits and loans. Research is done for teachers and others in the school system and in particular for the Visual Education production department. Subject-matter bulletins are issued from time to time on subjects found to be of special interest to teachers and pupils. During the present year the Classical Center will be headquarters for the Horace Celebration in southern California. Anyone wishing to take part in the celebration may get in touch with Mrs. Jane Infield, Classical Center, 1205 West Pico Street, Los Angeles.

Athens—Agora Excavation

Since our last notice of the results of the excavations conducted in the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens the fifth campaign has begun, and we have reports from Mr. Shear for the first three weeks' work. The area blocked off for the campaign of 1935, as indicated on the adjoining plan, includes about two and a half acres, occupied, when the work began, by thirty-two modern houses.

From the first houses to be demolished there were recovered, as was anticipated, some fragments of sculpture and many inscriptions. Among the inscriptions one referring to Trajan's Library sounds very modern: "No book shall be taken from the building. The Library will be open from the first hour until the sixth." Another interesting inscription supplies new names and exact dates of various archons and state treasurers hitherto unknown.

One more candidate for ostracism has been discovered—Callias, son of Didymus, who won the pancratium at Olympia in 472 B.C. and many other athletic victories. His name does not figure anywhere in political history, and the interesting question is raised whether the movement for his banishment was instigated by jealous rivals in the athletic world.

About a thousand tons of débris are being moved each week. Quantities of potsherds of various periods, some entire vases, and literally thousands of coins, besides many valuable inscriptions and fragments of sculpture, are being daily added to the vast amount of new material for investigation by classical scholars connected with our American School at Athens.

World Federation Meeting, Oxford, England

Arrangements have been made for the synchronized conferences of the World Federation of Education Associations, the International Federation of Secondary Associations, and the International Federation of Teachers Associations to be held at Oxford, England, August 10-17, 1935.

The program of subjects to be discussed at the various meetings will be very comprehensive and will cover most of the problems connected with teaching and education generally. In addition to the usual social functions and excursions, an educational exhibition of English school work will be arranged for the benefit of both English and foreign visitors.

This meeting promises to be not only of unique character but also of historic importance, and those who attend will have opportunities for contacts with educationists and teachers from many lands.

Plans are being worked out for tours of various lengths and costs throughout the British Isles and also on the continent. Persons who are interested in sailing dates, cost of travel, accommodations, et cetera, should write to the headquarters office of the World Federation, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Annual Meeting of the N.E.A.

The 1935 meeting of the N.E.A. will be held in Denver, June 30-July 5. Many teachers will wish to attend this great gathering both for the programs that will be presented and for the opportunity of visiting before and after the convention some of our most famous national parks and vacation resorts in the Rocky Mountains.

For further information or photographs write to A. Helen Anderson, supervisor of publications, Denver Public Schools, Denver, Colorado.